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ABSTRACT

This teaching guide contains objectives, activities, vocabulary, suggested readings, visuals, and readings divided into four units of instruction about Native Americans. Unit I examines the history of Native Americans on the North American continent from the precolonial period to the present. Unit II explores representative tribes of the eastern part of the United States and Canada from a historical and cultural standpoint. Unit III familiarizes students with Native Americans on reservations in the central regions and the spiritual beliefs of Native Americans. Unit IV discusses current tribal business activity on reservations and issues facing Alaska Natives regarding their lands. The guide contains four transparency masters of Indian tribes of North American and land transfers over three historical time periods. Fourteen short readings correspond to the units and include discussions of the growth of Indian activism since World War II, hydroelectric development on Cree lands in Quebec, archaeology and sacred sites, Indian land claims, spirituality and the Sioux Sun Dance, reservation life, and economic development. The lesson plans include questions about the readings. (KS)

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SOCIAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Newsweek Focus

ED 363 462

NATIVE AMERICANS

We Are Here

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NATIVE AMERICANS: WE ARE HERE

Beverly Jensen, author (Shinnecock Indian)

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TEACHER'S GUIDE

UNIT I – INDIANS YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Unit Overview: This unit examines the history of Native Americans on the North American continent from the precolonial period to the present. It answers the questions: What is a Native American or an American Indian? What is the legal status of tribes? The unit also traces the role of government in Indian affairs.

LESSON 1
Who Are Native Americans?

Objectives

- To define the term Native Americans
- To understand the legal status of Indian tribes
- To become familiar with various tribes in North America

Activities

1. Make a list of all the Indian tribes you can think of. Compare student lists to the list at the end of the teacher's guide. How many of the names are familiar to you? Where do you get your ideas of American Indians?

2. Examine the terms, "sovereign, domestic, dependent, nations" that have been used to describe groups of Indians. Explain the contradictions in these terms. Who or what do you think the nations are dependent upon, and why?

3. Discuss both versions of where Indians originated. In Navajo, Pawnee, Iroquois and Algonquin cultures (as well as many others), creation stories (how the Great Spirit created Mother Earth with Indians upon it) were part of their oral history. What other cultures have passed down creation stories? For extra credit, research Native American creation stories. How do they compare to the Genesis creation story?

4. Study Visuals B, C and D. How do you explain the loss of Indian lands? Discuss some of the factors that resulted in the decimation of entire Indian populations.

5. Use a standard American history textbook to research other major developments that occurred in American history during the time periods covered by Visuals B, C and D. How might other events in American history have had a negative impact on Indians?

6. Discuss the doctrine of discovery and the manifest destiny philosophy. What effects did these ideologies have on Native Americans?

7. Organize a classroom debate between students representing Native Americans versus other American immigrant groups on the meaning of the 500th anniversary of the Columbus voyage to the New World.

8. Prepare a research project on a reservation listed at the end of the teacher's guide. Include population figures, employment patterns, per capita income, governmental structure, traditions, traditional dress, natural resources and education system. Is the reservation under the jurisdiction of the state (state recognized) or the federal government (federally recognized)? Is there is any industry on the reservation? If possible, exchange letters with a member of the tribe.

LESSON 2
Conflicts and Resolutions

Objectives

- To explore some of the conflicts facing Indian tribes in contemporary society
- To examine the role of the federal government in Indian affairs

Activities

1. Study Reading 1 and Visual A. The author of the reading, Vine Deloria, Jr., is from the Standing Rock Reservation. Where is this reservation, and what tribe is located there? Where is Alcatraz, what was it, and what did the Indians intend to do with it? Why? Were they successful? Why?

2. What does the author say was the curriculum of Indian boarding schools? Did the schools further the education of Indians? Name three Indian boarding schools that have been called "prestige schools" in the federal system. List the positive effects of these schools. For extra credit read and write a short report on "Back to the Blanket," a true short story by Alice Marriott (University of Oklahoma Press, 1945, from *The Ten Grandmothers*).

3. Why were the Seminoles, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chicasaws and Creeks called the Five Civilized Tribes? What does the author say was the "fatal mistake" of these tribes? What federal policies resulted in the loss of Indian lands?

4. Why did the Santo Domingo Pueblo Indians meet in 1922? What federal bill were they reacting to, and what would have been the effect on their lives had it passed? What injustices did the Osage Indians suffer in Oklahoma?

5. From 1928 to 1932, the U.S. Senate made an investigation of Indian reservations (the Meriam Report). What did the senators find? Name some results of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. What Indian organization was formed in 1944? Explain the significance of the Indian Claims Commission.

6. The author states that 25 years following the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission, Indian claims for land taken from them totaled nearly $400,000 million in government compensation and resulted in another government policy – termination. How many tribes were terminated? What was the significance of the government's second venture into "relocation" for Indians? List some of the effects the War on Poverty had on Indians. What was the Trail of Broken Treaties?

7. Trace the relationship between Indians and the federal government from the signing of the Constitution to the present. How has that relationship changed since the 18th century? What has been the effect on Indians? Explain the Dawes Act and its effect on Indians. What do you think the role of the federal government should be in terms of Native Americans?

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UNIT II – TRADITIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD

Unit Overview: This unit examines some representative tribes of the eastern part of the United States and Canada from an historical and cultural standpoint. Students will be able to identify tribes and their culture, habits, history and contemporary concerns.

LESSON 1
The Crees of Canada

Objectives

- To examine the issue of what happens when technology clashes with traditions
- To trace the progress of a tribe from precolonial times to the present

Activities

1. The establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 acknowledged that fur trading was a viable business for the Hudson Bay area, the land of the Cree. Study Reading 2. What changes have taken place for the Crees since colonial times? What has remained the same?

2. Describe the "project of the century," and what it means to Cree Indians. List the negative results.

3. Debate the issue of providing hydroelectric power to overcrowded metropolitan areas such as New York City from the standpoint of the Cree Indians versus New York City residents who are subjected to frequent power blackouts. How can this issue be solved?

4. Analyze the settlement the Indians made with the government of Canada. How did the Canadian government fulfill the agreement? How does that compare with the U.S. government's handling of Indian affairs?

5. How did the Indians spend their settlement money? Do you think they spent it wisely? Have they made any accomplishments towards economic development and self-sufficiency?

6. Analyze the following statement made by Jacques Perreault of the James Bay Energy Corporation, "The Crees can't just jump into civilization. One day these people are hunting and fishing, the next they want to be engineers." What attitudes and stereotypes are implied in this statement? What other negative stereotypes can you think of about Native Americans? About other ethnic groups? Discuss whether you think such stereotypes are funny or cruel.

7. Research recent developments on the hydroelectric plan Phase 2. How have the Crees demonstrated their opposition to Phase 2? What do they say are the consequences of this new project on their way of life?

LESSON 2
Sacred Sites, Indian Rights

Objectives:

- To become familiar with one of the two small tribes remaining on Long Island
- To examine the rights of the public for securing and exhibiting relics from the past and the rights of the tribes that demand respect for their dead and buried

Activities

1. Study Reading 3. Your not-too-distant ancestors were buried with rings made of rare gemstones that have become quite valuable and are coveted by both museums and private collectors. Do you agree that their graves should be dug up so that the jewels can be displayed for the world to see and appreciate? Debate the issue.

2. Discuss the traditional archaeologists' position on Indian gravedigging. What is the position of Indians? How do Western scientists and American Indian views on death differ?

3. Study Reading 4. Find out where the Shinnecock Indian Reservation is located. What are some of the pressures facing this tribe?

4. The Shinnecocks sold a track of land to the settlers in the mid-17th century. What was the price of the land? What other land transactions were made between Indians and settlers? How did the Indians' view of the land differ from that of the whites?

5. What happened to the Shinnecock burial site? What did some Shinnecock tribal members do about a Montauk burial site? (Montauk is at the extreme eastern end of Long Island.) In what way have the towns of Southampton and East Hampton demonstrated increased awareness of Indian history? What specifically did Southampton do?

6. Discuss the Indian belief regarding disturbing the dead. What are your views on the matter? What are some of the opinions of the Indians in the article?

7. Discuss the clash between Indians raised on the reservation and those raised in the cities, and the clash between old and young. What are some of the things the groups can learn from each other?

8. In Reading 5, what significance does the discovery of the colonial fort have for the Shinnecock people today? Why did the Indians build the fort? Do you think the preservation of the fort will in any way make up for the lands the Shinnecocks lost to the settlers? What is the importance of artifacts found at this site? If any are found, who do you think they belong to, the Town of Southampton, or the Shinnecock Indians? Discuss the issue.

LESSON 3
Iroquois – The Old and the New

Objectives

- To examine internal tribal conflict between traditionalist Indians and those who want to become more modern
- To learn about ancient traditions that survive today

Activities

1. Research the Mohawk Indian tribe to find out where its reservations are located.

2. Based on Reading 6, describe the two factions on the reservation. Why is this an important issue? How does this issue differ from Indian affairs you have studied so far? How do you think this conflict came about, and how would you settle it?

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4. Research the issue of jurisdiction on an Indian reservation. Then discuss the "deep-seated" issue mentioned in the article. Decide as a class whose law is the binding law: the State of New York, the federal government, the traditionalists or the Warrior Society.

5. From your school library, obtain copies of and read the Mohawk newspaper, *Akwesasne Notes*, or write to the paper for copies at P.O. Box 196, The Mohawk Nation, Rooseveltown, New York 13683-0196.

6. Study Reading 7. Find out where the tribes of the Six Nations are located and mark them on Visual A. What family group of tribes do they belong to?

7. How did the game come to be known as lacrosse? Where do Native Americans say the game originated? Research other contributions Native Americans have made to American society.

8. The article mentions that the team will travel abroad with their own passports, representing a sovereign nation. What is the meaning of that statement? Is this passport legal? What might Native Americans have in common with the aborigines of Australia?

9. Research other Indian reservations in the eastern part of the United States and find their locations on Visual A.

UNIT III – GOOD MEDICINE

Unit Overview: Students will become familiar with Native Americans on reservations in the central region. They will view another aspect of Native American heritage, the spiritual side, and the Indian's relationship to Mother Earth.

LESSON 1
The Four Directions

Objectives

- To learn some of the spiritual beliefs of Native Americans
- To understand from a first-hand account what it was like to grow up on an Indian reservation in the Great Plains

Activities

1. Study Reading 8. Research the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation to find out where it is. What state is it in? List the other Indian reservations in this state.

2. Discuss the following: What is the significance of the Black Hills to the Sioux? What national monument is now there? What is the significance of that monument to the Sioux? To the other residents of South Dakota? Why do you think the government chose that particular place for the location of the monument?

3. Discuss why the Sioux people refused the $191 million offer of settlement from the government. What does the author say the award amounts to per Sioux?

4. Divide the class into two groups and debate the issue of the Black Hills, with one group representing the Indian side and one group representing the "other" side. Can the class come to a concensus concerning what settlement should be made?

5. Study Reading 9. What does the author say is the significance of the number four to Native Americans? What role did four play in his personal life?

6. How does the author say his Sioux culture was preserved from the onslaught of white settlers? What does he mean by "mystic warriors" and the visions of holy men and women of the tribe?

7. The author also says that he was not born into his traditional Indian knowledge, that it had to be taught to him; what factors in his growing up years separated him from those traditions? Discuss the government's Indian education policy as it pertains to this writing. What alternative policies could the government have developed?

8. Study Reading 10. What is the Sun Dance? What meaning does this ceremony have for the Sioux? Explain the need to pierce dancers during this ceremony. Why are first time dancers not allowed to pierce?

9. What does the author say about the conflict between proponents of the Sun Dance ceremony and a missionary priest? Why do you think the priest objected to the ceremony? Did all the members of the Sioux tribe approve of the Sun Dance? Why or why not? Explain why the author favors the ceremony.

10. Study Visual A and locate other tribes in the Great Lakes area.

LESSON 2
The Reservation

Objectives

- To learn what it was like to be raised on a Chippewa reservation in Minnesota
- To demonstrate similarities and differences in Native American cultures

Activities

1. Study Reading 11. Research the White Earth Indian Reservation and locate it on Visual A. Where is it in comparison to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation?

2. Compare Sun Bear's life growing up on his reservation with Eagle Man's (Ed McGaa) on the Pine Ridge Reservation. What was the importance of "family" to each man? Ed McGaa said he had to be taught his culture. Was that true for Sun Bear? Do you believe that all Indians grow up to know their culture instinctively?

3. What does the author say about differences and similarities in Native American rituals from region to region? How does he describe medicine? Explain what the author means by visions and their importance to Native Americans. Explain the role of visions in Reading 11.

4. Aside from marrying into the tribe, how did non-Indians come to live on the reservation? What 19th century government legislation and policy is responsible for non-Indians joining the reservations?

5. How does the author explain the difference between a "healer" and a "shaman"?

6. Sun Bear compares Ojibway medicine to the medicine of the Kahuna in Hawaii and that of the aborigines of Australia. For extra credit, research the ritualistic practices of these two groups and compare them to North American Indian medicine practices.

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UNIT IV – INDIAN COUNTRY

LESSON 1
Native Americans Make Progress

Objectives

- To examine the role of business activity on Indian reservations
- To show how tribes are beginning to profit from the natural resources found on their lands
- To discuss the long-term effects of tribal businesses on the tribes' future

Activities

1. Study Reading 12 and Visual A. List the tribes and the business ventures connected to them as mentioned in the article, "Indian Tribes, Incorporated." Find the tribes on the map. Based on the geography of the tribes, what businesses would the tribes be expected to enter? Maine, for instance, is filled with forests. Would logging wood be a natural business for the Hopi Indians?

2. What is the significance of the sign mentioned in paragraph 1, "We no longer accept Beaver pelts"? How do traditionalists feel about economic development on Indian reservations? What could be the long-term effect?

3. What does the article say about economic conditions on most Indian reservations? How do current conditions compare to the period covered by the Meriam Report of 1928? How do Indians compare economically with other minority groups in the United States today? What are some of the reasons for the present economic status of Indians?

4. Former Navajo tribal chairman Peter McDonald is quoted in the article as saying, "The BIA has to either get in step with us, or step out of the way." Explain what he means by this statement. Brainstorm examples of ways the BIA could "get in step with" Native Americans.

5. Research the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the lives of American Indians and write a report answering the following question: Has the BIA helped or hindered American Indians in their quest for justice and economic prosperity?

LESSON 2
Alaska Natives

Objectives

- To examine the popular belief that Native Americans are one with the land
- To become acquainted with various reservation activities

Activities

1. Study Reading 13 and Visual A. Why do some Native Alaskans want to sell parts of their land? What threat would sale pose? How do such sales contradict basic beliefs about Native Americans and their relationship to the land?

2. As a result of the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement, Alaska Natives formed village corporations. Why? What were the terms of the settlement? Where is much of the land they received in the settlement? How have the Natives fared since the settlement?

3. Based on the article, how many of the acres awarded to Alaska Natives do you think will remain in their hands 10 or 20 years from now?

4. The article states that the government rejected the idea of reservations as part of the settlement because reservations are a "failed social policy." Are they? Explain your answer.

5. Based on previous readings and lessons, what conclusions can you draw as to how Native Americans feel about reservations today? Placing yourself in a "what if" position, write a letter to the president of the United States expressing your views, as an American Indian, as to what a reservation means to you.

6. Study Reading 14. Why are Indians coming back to reservations? Based on Visual F, what conditions still exist on some reservations that existed during the period of the Meriam Report? What are some of the adjustments long-time city dwellers have to make upon returning to reservation life? Why do some people feel it is worth making adjustments to return?

7. Study the list of Indian tribes at the end of the teacher's guide. Add the names of the tribes that are missing.

VOCABULARY

The following terms appear in **Native Americans:we Are Here**. Students are likely to encounter these terms in Newsweek, other periodicals, books and discussions of this subject.

bagataway–Indian name for lacrosse

belagaana–Navajo word for white people

Dineh–the People *(Navajo)*

hogan–one-room, dome-shaped Navajo shelter

kivas–partially underground ceremonial chambers of Pueblo Indians

Midewiwin–Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibway

Paha Sapa–The Black Hills, sacred to the Sioux

tiyospaye–extended family (Sioux)

traditional–the ways of the people

Wakan Tanka–the Almighty (Sioux)

Wiwanyag Wachipi–Sun Dance ceremony (Sioux)

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A LIST OF SOME OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA

Eastern Woodlands

Algonkin
Algonquian
Catabaw
Cayuga
Cherokee
Chickasaw
Choctaw
Creek
Delaware
Huron
Iroquois
Menominee
Mohawk
Narraganset
Ojibwa (Chippewa)
Onondaga
Passamaquoddy
Penobscott
Pequot
Poosepatuck
Sauk & Fox
Seminole
Seneca
Shawnee
Shinnecock
Tuscarora
Wampanoag
Winnebago

Central Region

Arapaho
Assiniboin
Bannock
Blackfoot
Cheyenne
Comanche
Crow
Dakota (Sioux)
Flathead
Mandan
Kiowa
Kickapoo
Nez Perce
Omaha
Paiute
Pawnee
Shoshone
Ute

Southwest

Acoma
Apache
Hopi
Isleta
Maricopa
Navajo
Ourays
Papago
Pima
Taos
Santa Clara
San Ildefonso
Santo Domingo
Unitahs
Zuni

Northwest

Chinook
Haida
Lummi
Swinomish
Tlingit
Subarctic
Cree
Inuit

Arctic

Aleut
Eskimo
Mexico
Aztec
Maya
Olmec
Toltec
Zapotec

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Indian Tribes of North America

VISUAL A

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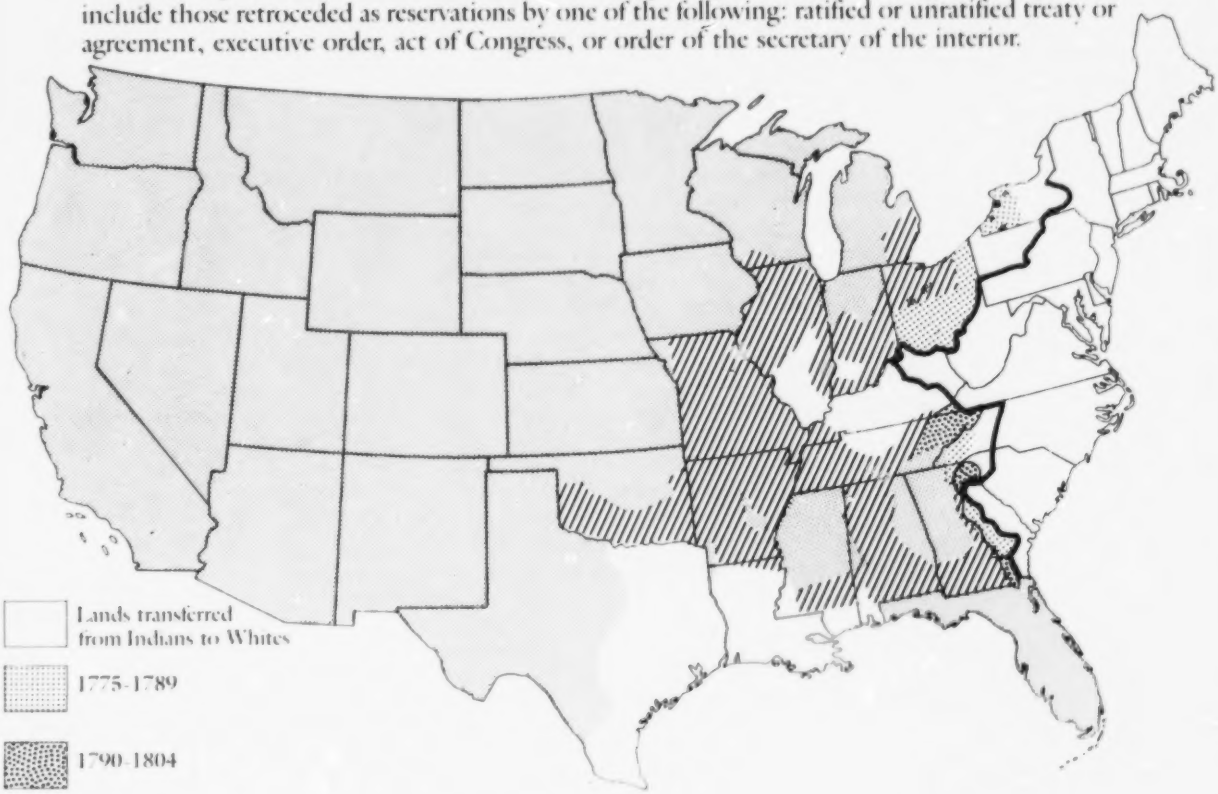
Land Transfers, 1775-1819

Lands transferred from Indians to Whites include: those formally ceded by ratified treaty or agreement; those obtained by purchase; those taken by unratified treaty or agreement; and those expropriated, without any Indian consultation, by executive order, act of Congress, order of the secretary of the interior, or private seizure. Note that many transfers reoccur due to overlapping tribal claims or due to Indian tribes that had relocated on already ceded land later ceding portions so that still other Indian tribes could relocate there (especially in Okla.). Lands returned to Indians include those retroceded as reservations by one of the following: ratified or unratified treaty or agreement, executive order, act of Congress, or order of the secretary of the interior.


Lands transferred from Indians to Whites
1775-1789
1790-1804
1805-1819
Lands held by Indians or returned to Indians
Indian Boundary Line of 1768 (fully sanctioned by 1775)

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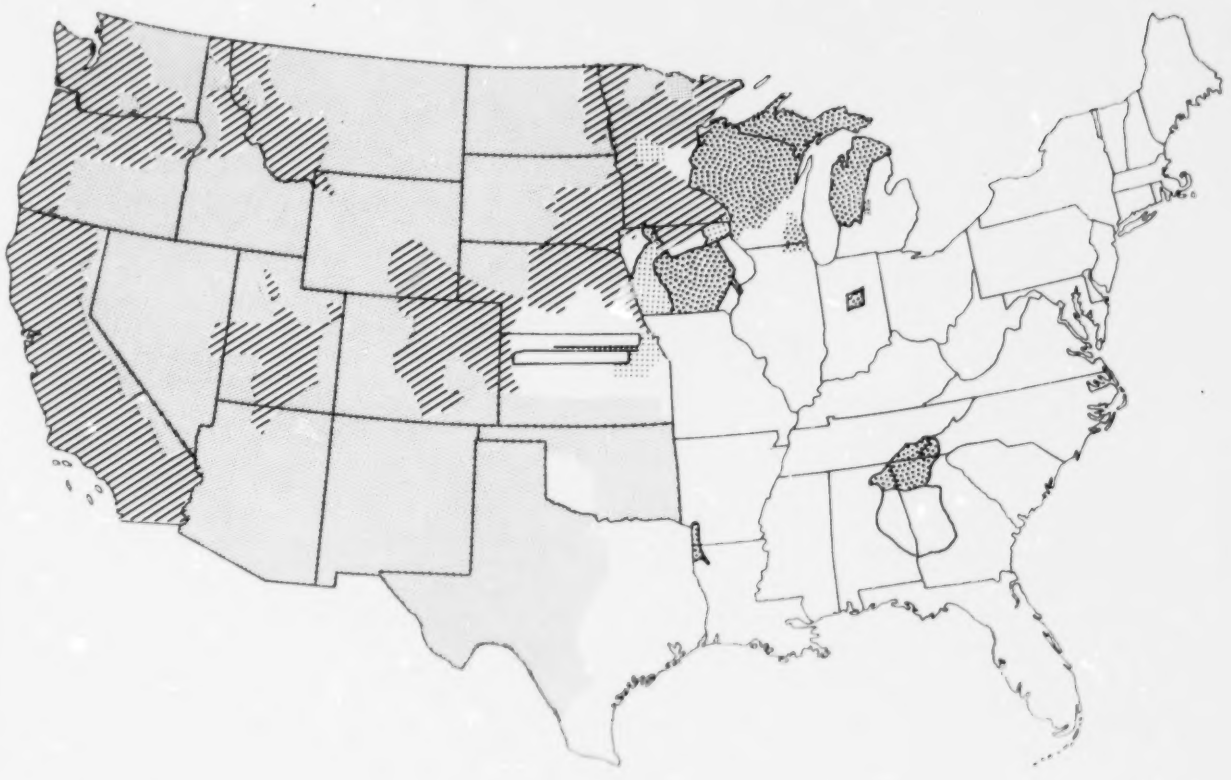
Land Transfers, 1820-1864



Lands transferred from Indians to Whites

1820–1834

1835–1849

1850–1864

Lands held by Indians or returned to Indians

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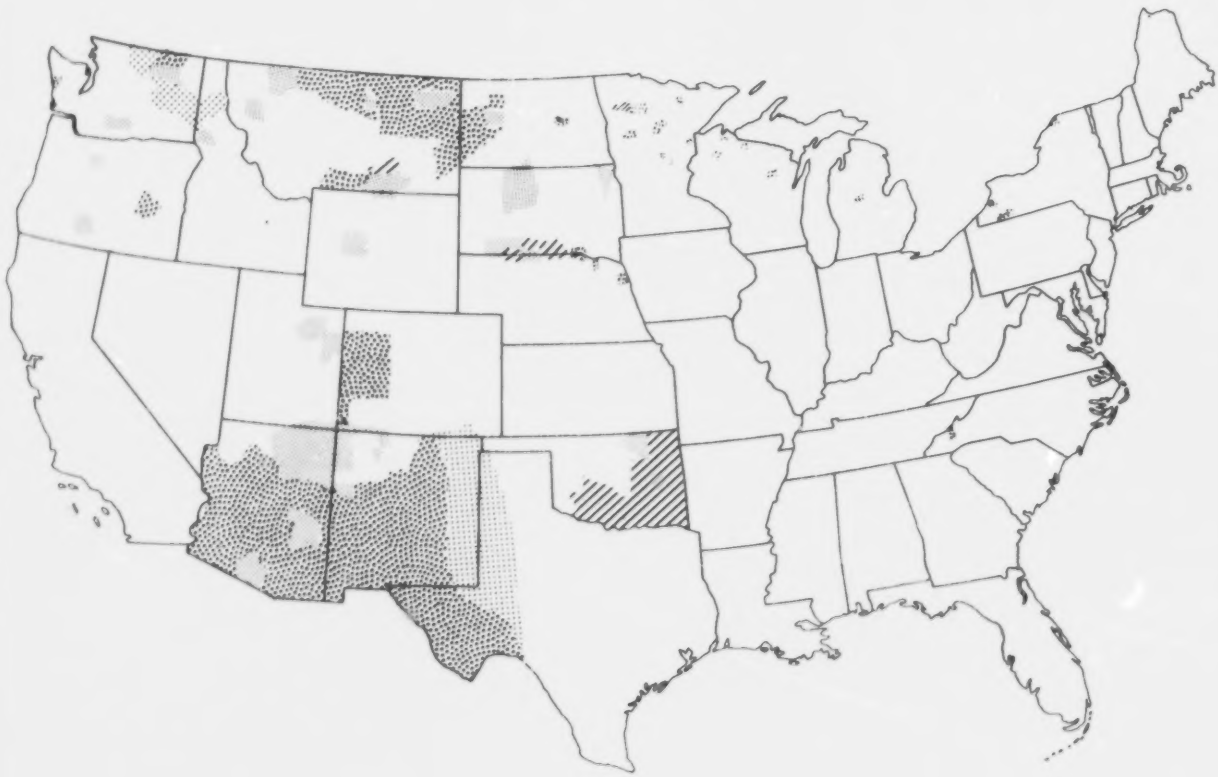
Land Transfers, 1865-1987



Lands transferred from Indians to Whites

1865-1879

1880-1894

1895-1987

Lands held by Indians or returned to Indians

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UNIT I – INDIANS YESTERDAY AND TODAY

READING 1

From Wounded Knee to Wounded Knee

Reprinted with permission from The World of the American Indian, Copyright 1974, National Geographic Society, Washington, D.C. Excerpted from Wounded Knee to Wounded Knee, by Vine Deloria Jr.(Sioux)

On a fall day in 1969 the desolate turtleback rock of Alcatraz came alive. Chill sea winds swept the sounds of laughter and song, drumbeat and defiance out across golden San Francisco Bay. To the cracked walls and rusting barbed wire of the abandoned federal prison, symbol of despair and isolation, came people driven by despair and isolation: Winnebago, Sioux, Blackfoot, Apache, Navajo, Cheyenne, Iroquois; city people, reservation people, horse people, sheepherders, fishermen, hunters of the Arctic.

Indians of all tribes, they called themselves. The island is a part of sacred mother earth, they said, wrongfully taken from their forefathers, and now surplus to the white man's needs. Here they would build a spiritual center, an ecological center, a training center. With smiling words they offered "the Great White Father" $24 in glass beads and red cloth, the sum that Peter Minuit paid the Manhattan Indians for their island in 1626.

For 19 months government agents parleyed, warned, threatened. Then they moved in and cleared the island. Other sites would be claimed – ancestral Pit River Indian lands in California; Fort Lawton, Washington; a lighthouse near Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan; Mount Rushmore in the Black Hills. Soon blood would flow at Wounded Knee again. And white Americans would no longer shake their heads and say, "We didn't even know there were any Indians left."

When fighting stopped in the last quarter of the 19th century, surviving Indians, surrounded on remnants of former domains, had become strangers in their own land. Most histories have been content to leave them there. But on their reservations the tribes still held title to a total of some 139,000,000 acres-a realm that stoked the land lust of homesteaders, miners, railroad boomers.

The magic of private property, which had been so beneficial to white society, was seen as the light to guide the Indians' way to a civilized state. Humanitarians deplored the government practice of moving tribes whenever land they occupied proved to have some value. Better to give each Indian a piece of land he could call his own and no longer push the tribe from one valley to another.

Red Cloud, the unconquered Oglala Sioux chief, had accepted the white man's peace but not his ways. "You must begin anew and put away the wisdom of your fathers," he bitterly counseled his people. "You must lay up food and forget the hungry. When your house is built, your storeroom filled, then look around for a neighbor whom you can take advantage of and seize all he has."

At an 1885 conference addressed to Indian problems, Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, a leading reformer, told of a visit to one of the Five Civilized Tribes in what later became eastern Oklahoma. He had found no paupers, the tribe did not owe a dime to anyone, it had its own schools and hospitals. "Yet," he concluded, "the defect of the system was apparent. They have got as far as they can go, because they own their land in common... There is no selfishness, which is at the bottom of civilization."

Two years later the senator's enthusiastic leadership triumphed with the passage of the General Allotment Act – one of the most significant laws in American Indian history. Under the Dawes Act, as it was also known, tribes would have their communal lands divided – a quarter section [160 acres] to the head of a household, smaller tracts to individuals. What remained of a tribe's lands after allotment would be bought from the Indians by the United States and opened to white settlement.

The impact on Indian holdings was devastating. Members of the Iowa tribe of Oklahoma retained a total of 8,568 acres after allotment, while 207,174 acres were declared "surplus"; the Cheyenne and Arapaho of Oklahoma lost five-sixths of their four-million-acre reservation. Other tribes suffered in like proportion. Even on the allotted lands troubles proliferated. Minors away at boarding schools couldn't farm their tracts; old Indians simply refused to farm, preferring the traditional hunting life even with game virtually gone. When someone asked Chief Washakie about farming on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, the old Shoshone snapped, "God damn a potato!"

No matter. The lawmakers had a remedy. Indians could lease their allotted acres. So the value of learning to farm successfully, of hard work and self-reliance, disappeared as Indians became idle, and often absentee, landlords.

In time, inheritance grew into a nightmare. On my own Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in the Dakotas, one 320-acre tract was owned, in 1959, by 183 heirs. Helen White Bird held one of the smallest shares, 3,124/115,755,091,200ths of the tract - or about .4 of a square foot!

. . . the Europeans continued to press their educational theories on the tribes, and eventually developed a widespread system of boarding schools run by government agencies or, more often, by missionary groups eager to raise young Indians as members of their denominations.

The farther from home the school the better. A

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hostile chief was unlikely to go on the warpath with his children a thousand miles away. And the children would more easily shed the influence of their native surroundings.

One Indian who had attended boarding schools in the 1860's vividly recalled the experience in later life: "When we entered the mission school we encountered a rule that prohibited the use of our language, which rule was rigidly enforced with a hickory rod, so that the newcomer... was obliged to go about like a little dummy until he learned to express himself in English.

"All the boys in our school were given English names, because their Indian names were difficult for the teachers to pronounce. Besides, the aboriginal names were considered by the missionaries as heathenish.... And so in the place of Tae-nooga-wa-zhe came Philip Sheridan, in that of Wapah-dae, Ulysses S. Grant."

"Indians are good with their hands" was the guiding philosophy. So the curriculum was aimed primarily at training in skills, with boys learning trades such as carpentry and the girls a version of home economics completely foreign to their homes in Indian country.

Filling such schools might require extraordinary methods, often little short of kidnapping. Cavalry Lt. Richard H. Pratt, who believed that the Indians' best hope lay in total assimilation into white society, in 1879 started the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania with contributions from a "Civilization Fund" obtained from the sale of Indians' lands out west. On one occasion Pratt went recruiting for students among Apache prisoners in a Florida camp. When no one responded to the overtures, Pratt lifted the arms of 62 "volunteers" and shipped them off to Pennsylvania.

In time Carlisle gained national prominence, particularly through the football exploits of the incomparable Jim Thorpe. The Chilocco School in Oklahoma and Haskell Institute in Kansas eventually came to rival Carlisle as the prestige schools in the federal system.

Unquestionably the boarding schools played their part in the assault on Indian communal strength, identity, and self-respect. Yet in one way they produced a surprising counter effect. Some graduates came away with a deeper awareness of the Indian plight, and they were among the first to see hope for their people in a national unification of the tribes.

Around the turn of this century the ax of allotment finally fell on the Five Civilized Tribes: the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole. Since the time of their forced migration to Indian Territory in the early 19th century, they had established well organized republics, with a substantial number of wealthy people. Some of the tribes had better educated citizenries than did the adjacent states.

When the clamor arose to abolish the tribal governments and allot the lands, traditionalists in the tribes resisted. For Cherokee religious leaders the long dark age foretold by ancient prophets of the tribe was at hand. A minor rebellion broke among the Creeks; many fled into the hills rather than touch a pen and accept an allotment. For nearly a decade Bureau of Indian Affairs officials chased the Creek fullbloods, trying to get them to take their parcels of land.

For the Five Civilized Tribes had made a fatal mistake in allowing whites to live on their lands. Now the Indian population of some 50,000 was outnumbered by more than twice as many whites; pressure by whites for a clear title to lands they occupied carried the day. In 1907 Indian Territory was merged with its western neighbor, Oklahoma Territory, into the new state of Oklahoma.

By then a quarter of a century of misplaced zeal, greed, and chicanery had shrunk the tribal lands in the United States by more than half. Not all the loss was due to allotment. Right-of-way laws let railroads cut swaths through reservations. And the policy of President Theodore Roosevelt, which enshrined him in the hearts of conservationists, gobbled up millions of acres of Indian lands in new national parks and forests. In New Mexico, Taos Pueblo saw its beautiful highland shrine, Blue Lake "this proof of sacred things we deeply love" placed in Kit Carson National Forest, ostensibly to protect it from development.

The tide engulfing the Indians seemed irreversible. Then a minor lawsuit involving the sale of liquor to Indians stemmed it. The status of the Pueblo people of New Mexico had always been different from that of other Indians. When Mexico ceded the territory in 1848, the United States confirmed the Pueblos' land titles and offered full citizenship to them and to the Mexican people who chose to remain.

Federal law forbade the sale of whisky in Indian country. Did it apply to Pueblo communities? In Sandoval v. United States the Supreme Court in 1913 ruled that the Pueblo were under federal protection meaning not only the liquor laws but also the laws protecting them against squatters.

New Mexico seethed as thousands of property "owners" suddenly found themselves on shaky ground. Senator Holm Bursum of New Mexico sided with them in what became a classic legal confrontation of the new West. In 1922 he offered a bill to resolve conflicting claims by putting the burden of proving land ownership on the Pueblo.

The Indians were stunned when they heard of it. "We must unite as we did once before," said one, recalling the great rebellion of 1680, when the Pueblo people drove the Spaniards from the land.

John Collier, a diminutive social worker filled with admiration for the Indian spirit, was there, recorded the drama, and went on to spearhead a coalition that included the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

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They aroused the nation, buried the Bursum bill, and in its place won passage of a law that made the squatters prove the legitimacy of their claims.

A new era of reform gathered force, fed largely on the shattered myths of the old reforms. If individual ownership of property had any validity as a civilizing force, one would have expected Oklahoma to provide the prime examples. The Five Civilized Tribes had had long years of exposure to the complexities of white society, and the discovery of oil had blessed the state with lucrative resources. Yet here the worst abuses piled up, decades after reservations were abolished.

To keep Indian land allotments from passing quickly into white ownership, the law restricted the sale of these tracts. But men bent on plunder found ways to surmount such barriers. Adult Indians found themselves declared incompetent by local courts and in need of guardians. Minors became wards of the courts. Oil-rich Osages were shot, poisoned, blown up in their homes; the Indians were terrorized by 24 unsolved murders in a three-year period. Wills turned up in which Osages for some reason left their estates to local politicians instead of their families.

In a four-year field investigation, begun in 1928, United States Senators found the same dismal pattern at one reservation after another: whites in control of rich resources, Indians struggling to eke out a living.

Half-forgotten outrages seemed to rise from the mists of history to shock the Senate investigators. At Lawton, Oklahoma, they discovered the Fort Sill Apaches, descendants and survivors of a band of 750 Chiricahuas brought east when Geronimo surrendered. The band had been held in prison status for more than 20 years, then freed.

With the New Deal in 1933 came a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that tireless gadfly John Collier. A generation ahead of his time, he visualized the revival of aboriginal cultures among people who had been reduced to survival tactics. In Collier's grand concept, Indians would generously cede their allotted lands to new tribal governments which would build a new Indian society.

Such sweeping reforms were too much for Congress, too much even for many Indians who misunderstood and opposed the plan. The fullbloods, protested George White Bull, a Sioux from the Standing Rock Reservation, were "just getting accustomed to the allotment system."

Collier salvaged parts of his dream in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, though not enough to give the tribes fully functioning governments. But the long nightmare of allotment was ended; indeed the law provided funds for expanding Indian holdings. Perhaps more important, the law granted Indians the cherished freedom of religion; no longer did the old people have to perform traditional rituals in hiding.

The experiments in tribal self government had barely begun when the tremors of World War II rocked the land and the people. Reservation Indians who had resisted farming for decades gladly grew crops because the victory gardens had a purpose – winning the war – and were not simply another arbitrary command of the Indian agent. Thousands left their homes to man the war plants in Los Angeles, Seattle, San Francisco, and San Diego, many to remain and raise a new generation without a memory of reservation life.

Pearl Harbor sparked the ancestral warrior spirit, calling forth a flurry of Indian volunteers. Eventually some 25,000 served. A Creek and a Cherokee, Ernest Childers and Jack Montgomery of the famed Thunderbird Division, won the Congressional Medal of Honor in Europe. Gen. Clarence Tinker of the Army Air Corps, an Osage, died in the Pacific. Ira Hayes, a Pima Marine, helped raise the flag at Iwo Jima, and a Pawnee, Brummett Echohawk, a renowned expert in hand-to-hand combat, trained commandos. Some Indians chafed under the tedium of military routine. They had come to fight, not to sit around, cut grass, and clean latrines. So they simply went home.

Pursuing their new religious liberties, a number of tribes had conducted ceremonies for departing warriors and when the veterans returned, purification rites welcomed them back into the tribal fold.

Many a homecoming soldier found reservation life harsh and stagnant, and, unable to make his way in the white world either, drifted about, aimless and bitter. Others came back from the war convinced that vigilance and participation were the first responsibilities of citizenship. They looked out on the war clouds gathering on the domestic horizon and prepared to confront them.

Suspicious lawmakers who saw a subversive foreign influence in the effort to revive Indian culture drove John Collier from office. Before he left the Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, Collier encouraged his Indian employees to organize for the defense of tribal rights in the future. In November 1944, nearly a hundred Indians from across the land gathered in Denver, Colorado, to form the National Congress of American Indians, the first all-Indian national organization.

"We'd sent out invitations hoping that someone would come," recalled D'Arcy McNickle, a Flathead and one of the founders. "We didn't know if anyone would. So we just sat there in the hotel lobby and pretty soon it was filled with Indians. Where they came from we never did figure out."

The new group soon joined the successful campaign to establish the Indian Claims Commission. Hitherto, any tribe with a grievance over a broken treaty or a shady deal was forced to obtain a special act of Congress before the tribe could sue the government. Now the tribes could routinely file claims before the commission. Within 25 years after the new law took effect claimants had won awards totalling nearly $400 million,

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and the commission's statutory life was extended several times.

More were piling up. While the claims law represented an act of national conscience, it also reflected the hope that the money awards would speed the day when costly federal services fur Indian health, education, and welfare would end. In the postwar years the cry arose once again, "Set these people free." The result: new laws to terminate the federal relationship with tribes that seemed able and were willing – or could be persuaded – to go along.

Some 19 tribes lost federal support before the termination policy was finally terminated.

Another device to usher Indians into the American mainstream was "relocation." Under this experiment the government provided one-way bus or train tickets from the reservations into cities and helped the relocated families get settled and find jobs. Some succeeded. For others the free ride merely meant a shift "from one pocket of poverty to another." Many found their way back to the reservations; the one-way ticket became a joke.

When the United States declared war on poverty in the 1960's, Indians quickly volunteered. They were experts on poverty; on some reservations the unemployment rate ran as high as 80 [!!!] or 90 percent. By now Indians were also experts in the legislative process. In 1964 the National Congress of American Indians, which I later served as executive director, co-sponsored a conference on poverty which led to the inclusion of Indians in the programs.

To the Navajo, determined to chart their own future as a people, the poverty campaign brought more than money. Always before, the bureaucrats had decided how to spend federal funds for Navajos, noted one tribe member. "Then," he added, "the Office of Economic Opportunity comes along with 11 million dollars a year and asks Navajos how he think the money should be spent. Navajos were like a snake in a jar until OEO let the snake out. What happens when you free the snake? When he realizes he's free, he begins to move!"

The movement of Indians into higher education in the '60's had accelerated everything in Indian affairs. In 1960 some 2,000 Indians were in college; a decade later the total came to 12,000 with several hundred in graduate school. For the first time the tribes were not forced to go beyond their communities to find qualified professionals. By the 1970's a majority of Indian schoolchildren were enrolled in public schools.

New courses in Indian languages, history, and art underscored the fact that the forces of cultural renewal unleashed in John Collier's day had intensified over the years. Indians thronged reservations for annual religious ceremonies and secular celebrations of dancing, feasting, and rodeo collectively called powwows. The Crow Fair and Oglala Sioux Sun Dance became major events of the Indian year. Almost every weekend some tribe, somewhere, had a gathering planned.

With burgeoning pride many traveled the powwow circuit, caught the spark of the civil rights movement, and began to express a deep discontent with the dominant society. Some dreamed of returning to a pristine Indianness untainted by white contact; others thought revitalized tribal structures could help solidify recent political gains. Thus emerged a generation of activists dedicated to the renewal of tribal integrity and, if need be, the warrior tradition.

The first clash came with the "fish-ins" of Washington State in 1964. For years local Indians had protested state game laws that restricted Indian fishing rights guaranteed by federal treaty. Now, defying white laws, the fishermen, supported by the newly formed National Indian Youth Council went out to fish the Puyallup, the Nisqualy, and the Green Rivers. As police and wardens went after them, the men fought from their boats, and their families threw rocks from the shore. Dozens went to jail.

As the decade wore on, civil disobedience increased. With 1969 came the drama of Alcatraz. Indians who took part recalled it as a beautiful experience, a symbol of their need to retake the continent – in spirit if not in fact. They were taken seriously only as long as the media found them interesting.

The younger leaders, impatient for change, gaining prominence – and notoriety – soon drew apart from the tribal establishments. Older leaders regarded the demonstrators as potential political rivals and lawless firebrands whose excesses might cut the pipelines of federal money. In turn the activists derided their Indian critics as "Uncle Tomahawks" and "apples" - red on the outside, white underneath.

As the national election of 1972 approached, a caravan of Indians calling itself the "Trail of Broken Treaties" descended on Washington to demand Indian programs from Presidential candidates. Protest exploded into confrontation, the Indians captured the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters, vandalized it during a tense week of occupation, and left with tons of BIA documents. Most of the papers were recovered.

Early in 1973 trouble came to the Oglala Sioux of Pine Ridge, where tribal dissidents had been sparring with the leadership. A force of armed Indians, spearheaded by organizers from the American Indian Movement, occupied the village of Wounded Knee.

In a real sense the past century of Indian existence had begun and ended at Wounded Knee. The bloody rout of 1890 gave tragic evidence that the old ways were gone; in their place came the challenge to Indians to adapt or vanish. The siege of 1973 had proved, at least, that they had done neither. In fact the Indian population had more than tripled since 1890, when it stood at 250,000.

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UNIT II – TRADITIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD

READING 2

Light In The Forest: Quebec's Indians battle for a new way of life

Newsweek, June 15, 1987

To an outsider, the vast territory of northern Quebec seems frozen in time. Populated by hunters, trappers and lumberjacks, linked to the civilization far to the south by satellite and twin-engine planes, it is as unchanging and featureless is the lakes and streams that furrow its weeping expanse. This is the home of the Cree Indian tribe. From time immemorial they have lived off this land, bounded by the icy waters of James Bay to the west and Labrador to the east. Only one road penetrates to the heart of the Cree territory, the little town of Waskaganish, and that's open only eight weeks a year in the dead of winter, when the surrounding swamplands are frozen solid.

But change is coming to the Indian wilderness. Two decades ago the Hudson's Bay Co. trading post was the only major building in Waskaganish. In Cree the name means "little house"; today it is a thriving community of 1,200 people, with an airport, a school, and indoor hockey arena. Snowmobiles and rough-terrain vehicles break the forest silence. Prefab wooden bungalows rise in a patchwork of newly laid roads; many have satellite dishes trained on the sky, bringing news and entertainment from the world outside. "We are accepting the white man's ways too readily," complains a village elder. The real question, though, is whether the Indians have a choice. In an eerie reprise of the 19th-century conflicts between red men and white men, the Crees are locked in a battle over land in which only the costumes have changed. Pinstripes and corporate jets have taken the place of buckskins and arrows; the white trappers and settlers of an earlier era have given way to a powerful corporate conglomerate.

Enter Billy Diamond, a former chief of the Crees. The very model of a modern Indian, he straddles two ages: one the world of high-priced lawyers, lobbyists and financial consultants, the other the traditional world of his childhood. When a photographer once asked him to appear in "traditional garb," he donned a hockey jacket. And now, at a time of year when his brethren have returned to the land in celebration of the rejuvenation of the Cree spirit, Diamond is stalking newer and, to him, more familiar hunting grounds: Ottawa and Montreal, where Diamond for a decade and a half has battled powerful provincial legislators, businessmen and engineers to preserve his tribe's way of life and ensure its entry into the modern age.

First phase: At the headquarters of the James Bay Energy Corp. in downtown Montreal, Jacques Perreault, one of Diamond's unseen enemies, unfurls a map of northern Quebec and proudly traces the lineaments of one of the world's largest hydroelectric projects. It is a Promethean feat: after 15 years of construction and expenditures of 57.9 billion, Quebec recently completed a 500-mile-long network of 220 dikes and dams that will send 24,000 megawatts of electricity coursing to cities throughout the province and the northern United States. And that's only the first phase of a project that will generate about $500 million in yearly revenues for the province. Executives at Hydro-Quebec, which owns James Bay Energy, have long touted it as "the project of the century."

Trouble is, the project of the century has proved to be the headache of the epoch for Crees. From the time it was announced in the early 1970s, it was clear that the damage to the environment would be profound. Roughly 4,400 square miles of traditional Cree hunting lands have so far been flooded. The dams' reservoirs have caused mercury levels in the soil to rise, contaminating the region's lakes and streams and the fish the Indians depend upon for food. Perreault, chief engineer on the project, says it takes about 20 years for such damage to be undone.

From a strictly legal point of view, there wasn't much the Crees could do. They held no title to the land, either by treaty or more traditional ownership. Their rights, as they saw them, stemmed from inheritance and the simple fact that they lived there – and had for generations beyond memory. But in Montreal those claims seemed of small account in the face of the province's energy needs. The massive hydroelectric project, the government declared, would make Quebec the "Texas of the North."

Billy Diamond begged to differ. "That announcement forever changed my life," Diamond says today. "At that moment I knew exactly what I had to do. Out of crisis, there emerged a leader." No modest claim, that, but then Billy Diamond is no modest man. At the time he was chief only of the Waskaganish band, almost lost in the fastness of the northern woods. But Diamond had several great gifts: a warrior's tenacity and a good deal of political savvy. He saw immediately that James Bay could not be stopped from building its dams. But he sensed that the company and the government could be battled, bargained and harassed into compensating the Crees for their losses. He carried the fight to the capital, and in 1973, at 23, the tribes rewarded him for his pluck. He was elected grand chief of the Crees of Quebec - and appointed the tribe's chief negotiator with the developers.

Media campaign: It was a bruising confrontation. The tribe hired lobbyists and lawyers to press its case. It waged an aggressive and highly sympathetic media campaign. And, in November 1975, seemingly against

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all odds, it won. Under the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, the Crees were given exclusive hunting, fishing and trapping rights in exchange for extinguishing their aboriginal rights to 400,000 square miles of northern Quebec. A compensation package was worked out worth $168 million (divided between the Crees and the smaller Inuit and Naskapi tribes). They were promised additional state services and, more important, were given rights of self-government involving schools, health services and the administration of local federal and provincial development programs. It was the first comprehensive Indian land-claims settlement in Canada – and it was the first time that Indians had been assigned responsibility for handling their own affairs. After the pact was signed, Diamond and another Cree leader climbed to the top of one of the James Bay dams, thrust their clenched fists into the air and screamed into the still-empty reservoir, "We beat you, you bastard!"

Today the Crees have discovered how easy it is for a bureaucracy to neglect its promises, and how easy it is for unresolved issues to end in disappointment. Take the charter's provision for "essential sanitation services." Ottawa interpreted the treaty as an obligation to maintain existing commitments; Diamond and others who carried water to their houses in buckets and worried about poor medical conditions had something more ambitious in mind. Their concern came to a head in 1980, when a gastroenteritis epidemic swept through the Cree communities. Seven children died; more than a hundred suffered from the aftereffects, including Diamond's own son, now brain-damaged and epileptic. Ottawa subsequently chipped in $12 million to upgrade health services, and argued that it had done all it could.

Rage still drives Diamond, and it is largely due to his persistence that the Crees have won so much. Canadian officials say the government has spent $750 million since 1975 in living up to its commitments under the treaty, and the negotiations still go on. It seems that Billy Diamond lives with his eye on the future. "My greatest contribution is to have taken these villages, turned them around and developed a nation," he says. That has given the Crees considerable political power. But just as clearly, Diamond sees that the Indians must work their way into the mainstream of the Canadian economy. Without that, they will forever live on the fringe, second-class citizens in a society inured to the disadvantaged.

Building links: The Crees' ladder to prosperity, Diamond says, is the inspired use of government money. So far, the tribe has channeled the funds into a variety of social services: schools, health, housing. The Cree Construction Co. has built hundreds of suburban-style homes. Air Creebec, which Diamond heads, was established five years ago to serve the northern Indian communities; that meant the tribe had to build airports and communication links with the cities of the south.

The Indians are also using Hydro-Quebec's cash to set up small Cree-owned businesses. Perhaps the most successful is the Waskaganish Enterprise Development Corp., which joined forces with Japan's Yamaha Motor Co. last year to establish a boat factory. The product is quintessentially Cree: a fiber-glass version of the traditional Indian canoe, unsinkable and especially designed for use in the arctic waters of James Bay. Will it sell? Maybe, but Diamond is already looking beyond the boats to a time when the Indians will team up with the Japanese to build a Cree-made toboggan. For export, of course.

The big question is whether entrepreneurism Diamond style will catch on throughout northern Quebec, and whether jobs can be created as quickly as the Crees' old way of life disappears. It is for that reason that the tribe is eying phase II of the James Bay hydro-electric project, scheduled to begin shortly. Instead of selling its land rights at top dollar, the strategy is to win an equity position in the facilities. The Crees want to be involved in building the dams and plants – and in running and maintaining them once they are finished. Jacques Perreault says the Indians want too much, too soon. "The Cree can't just jump into civilization." he says. "One day these people are hunting and fishing, the next they want to be engineers."

Maybe so – but that's what Billy Diamond and the Crees will demand. And judging from the record, that's probably what they'll get.

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UNIT II – TRADITIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD

READING 3

The Plunder of the Past

Newsweek, June 26, 1989

It's a hot lazy July afternoon, but things are jumping at Morton Goldberg's New Orleans auction house. "You won't see a collection like this auctioned off again!" David Goldberg exclaims as his father hustles bids with a singsong chatter. Scattered on long tables, tacked to the walls, spilling out of cardboard boxes that are the remnants of an earlier America. There are rugs, baskets, beads, necklaces, bows and arrows, pots of all sizes – even silver crosses from the graves of Indians whose souls were saved by white missionaries. When Goldberg announces that a set of shells and beads from an infant's grave has been withdrawn, the crowd moans in disappointment. Milo Fat Beaver, a Muscogee healer who came to the auction thinking it was an art sale, looks ashen. "It's a horrible thing," he mutters.

Collected Indian relics is a time-honored tradition in many parts of the country. But what was once a rural hobby has lately blossomed into a multimillion-dollar industry. Spurred by the five-figure prices the most prized artifacts can fetch, small armies of treasure seekers are looting unmarked Indian graves from Arizona to North Carolina. Archaeologists express horror that the pothunters are destroying an irreplaceable record of how the original Americans lived. Indian groups are horrified, too, but many find the practices of researchers as offensive as those of the looters. Many states are now moving to curb the plunder, and Congress is poised to do the same. But a sticky issue remains: who, if anyone, owns the past?

Big Business: No one knows just how much has been lost, but disturbing signs abound. A report by the General Accounting Office suggests that illegal digging on public lands in the Southwest has doubled during this decade. And archaeologists report that 90 percent of the surveyed sites have been damaged. As known quarries dwindle, the value of artifacts soars and the looters grow ever more determined. Pothunters now use helicopters and satellite maps to survey remote sites. Some carry automatic weapons. "The archaeologists tell me that within the next five to 15 years, there won't be any pristine ruins left," says Linda Akers, an assistant U.S. attorney in Phoenix. "The bad guys are beating us to the punch all around."

On leased or private land, where digging is still legal in most states, some pothunters mine ancient burial grounds with backhoes and bulldozers. Landowners in northeast Arkansas often recruit professionals to excavate their lots for a share of the profits. "Some of these people are digging in excess of a thousand graves a year," says Arkansas State University anthropologist Dan Morse. "It's obscene." Particularly heartbreaking, both to scientists and Native Americans, was the 1987 plunder of Slack Farm in western Kentucky, the site of a 500-year-old Mississippian village. After leasing digging rights from the owner, 10 pothunters mined the area with a tractor, destroying an estimated 650 graves. Two months later the site was a bone-strewn moonscape.

To cash in on their finds, many diggers rely on dealers who distribute artifacts to collectors in New York, Los Angeles, Europe and Japan. The dealers typically sign releases swearing that their goods were obtained legally from private land. Since it's virtually impossible to prove otherwise, almost any piece can sell on the open market. Dealers and collectors sometimes know they're buying stolen property, says Gary Fogelman, editor of Indian-Artifact magazine. But "they don't want to turn off the pipeline by asking too many questions."

Just 10 years ago *nobody* was asking questions; until Congress passed the 1979 Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA), unmarked Indian graves enjoyed roughly the status of garbage dumps. ARPA bars unauthorized digging on federal or Indian lands, but it says nothing about private property. Prompted by incidents like the pillage of Slack Farm, legislators in a number of states, including Kansas, Nebraska, Kentucky, Indiana, Texas and New Mexico, have recently passed new laws protecting all burial sites, marked or unmarked, even on private land.

Some states have gone farther. The Kansas Legislature recently set aside $90,000 to purchase and close down a roadside tourist attraction near Salina, where visitors pay $3.50 for a peek at the shellacked remains of 146 Indians who were unearthed in 1936. And Nebraska lawmakers have passed a measure requiring that state-supported museums give back, for reburial, any remains or grave goods that can be linked to a living tribe. The act will cost the Nebraska Historical Society 10,000 artifacts and a third of its 800 Indian skeletons.

Proposed federal laws could have similar effects. All five of the bone bills now before Congress would ban all commercial digging, and at least two of them would force federally supported museums – including the Smithsonian, home of some 20,000 Indian remains, to give up parts of their collections. The bill with the broadest support, sponsored by Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, takes no firm stand on the "repatriation" issue. But it does provide for a new National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, with Native Americans on its board of overseers. The proposed museum would house most of the 1 million artifacts in New York's decrepit Museum of the American Indian.

Grave robbers? Longtime hobbyists, some of whom simply collect relics they find on the ground, resent the current backlash against pothunting. Bob Brown, an automobile salesman from Deming, N.H., became in-

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terested in prehistoric Indian culture after taking a course in college. "Even if you are a qualified amateur and you love prehistoric culture, you are still considered a grave robber and a vandal or worse," he says. Brown maintains that since public lands are still rich in artifacts – federal lands in the Southwest may contain more than a million unsurveyed archaeological sites – there's no need to restrict digging on private property. Harry Elrod of Joiner, Ark., adds that many of the items pothunters recover would be destroyed. "It doesn't bother most people to go out in the fields and run a tractor over the graves, destroying them," he says. "What's wrong with taking out a shovel and getting some of the artifacts out? I'd rather see them survive in a private collection than see them in pieces."

Scientists and Indian advocates scoff in unison at the pothunters' preservationist line. "To allow the looters and gravediggers to call themselves amateurs and hobbyists is like allowing Jack the Ripper to call himself an amateur surgeon," says Ray Apodaca, director of the Texas Indian Commission. Yet scientists and tribal leaders differ sharply on whether dead Indians are suitable objects for study and display.

From the archaeologists' perspective, understanding the past is vitally important, and it requires examining the ruins of earlier cultures. Even the crudest artifacts reveal much about commerce and religion, they note. The pollen on buried objects can yield insights about vegetation and climate. And skeletal remains can speak volumes about health and disease. As scientists get better at extracting genetic material from old bones, says anthropologist Larry Zimmerman, remains now stockpiled in museums could begin to show how various tribes evolved, migrated and interacted. "Of course," he notes, "we won't learn any of that if all the bones are reburied."

Such reasoning is incomprehensible to many Indians. "When an archaeologist digs and he shakes the very roots of a living soul, it is wrong," says Maria Pearson, a Yankton-Sioux activist from Ames, Iowa. "It is wrong for anybody to go into my grandmother's grave, my great-grandfather's grave, my great-great-grandfather's grave, because through all of this comes the mental security of my children, my grandchildren and my great-grandchildren." The well-known Indian activist Dennis Banks puts it more bluntly. "If you ask me," he told a National Geographic writer recently, "[archeologists are] hardly any better than the gravediggers themselves; only difference is they've got a state permit.

Two worlds: Such feelings are not surprising, given the sad history of Anglo-Indian relations. But the competing claims of Indians and archeologists reflect more than bad blood. They embody different attitudes toward the dead. Whereas Western scientists have been matter-of-factly cutting up cadavers since the Renaissance, many tribes believe that disturbing the graves of ancestors will bring spiritual sickness to the living. As New Mexico preservation officer Tom Merlan observes, "There is no real possible reconciliation between those views."

From either perspective, it seems clear that all the dead deserve equal consideration. It seems equally clear that they haven't received it. Until recently, notes archaeologist Dan Morse, many researchers shared the feeling that "Indians were sub-human." Pearson recalls clearly the day in 1971 when an Iowa road crew accidently unearthed an unmarked cemetery in the southwest corner of the state. Her husband, a construction engineer for the state highway commission, came home with the news. "The bodies of 26 white people were taken out, placed in new coffins and reburied nearby," she says. "They found one Indian woman and her baby. Their bodies were placed in a box and shipped to the state archaeologist in Iowa City for study." Whatever becomes of the skeletons in museum closets, it's heartening to see such official callousness wane.

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READING 4

Sacred Sites, Indian Rights

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John Strong was kayaking in Shinnecock Bay one Sunday in November when he spotted something strange on Sugar Loaf Hill. Mr. Strong who commutes via kayak to his job as professor of anthropology at Southampton College, uses this high bluff to get his bearings. On that Sunday he looked up and, he recalled this week. "Lo and behold, I saw the construction equipment and timbers and I could not believe my eyes."

Mr. Strong, a Native American specialist, realized there was a house going up on the site, directly over one of the richest ancient burial pits ever excavated on Long Island. The cremated bones, vessels, pottery, and arrowheads that have been found there date from 1500 B.C. to 1000 A.D.

Apart from its scientific value, some members of the Shinnecock Tribe, whose reservation is less than two miles east of Sugar Loaf off Montauk Highway, consider the hill a sacred site. It had been used until the construction began for worship and funeral processions.

A Battle Moved

The skeleton of the house that Mr. Strong saw that day would come to represent not only the fragility of Indian claims here and a victory of the material over the spiritual, but a rift within the Shinnecock community itself. Many older members, including the tribal trustees, censure the protests at Southampton Town Hall that have taken place since the destruction of the Sugar Loaf Hill, seeming to feel that such activism brings unwanted publicity to the tribe.

The house on Sugar Loaf Hill is now almost complete. Why no effort was made to preserve the site while there was still time is unclear. But the 25 or so Shinnecocks and other Native Americans who formed the Sugar Loaf Coalition consider it a battle not lost so much as moved to Montauk, now.

There, the burial ground of Cyrus Charles – a Montaukett who even in the 18th century was an advocate for Indian rights – and other Indians may be disturbed, they say, by the opening of a road appropriately named Gravesend Avenue. The issue is so fraught with archaeological uncertainty and emotion that it prompted a seven-hour public hearing in East Hampton Town Hall Friday.

Prime Real Estate

Nor is it likely that Gravesend will be the last such battle; coming of age is a younger, more activist generation of Shinnecocks, many of whom have grown up off the reservation. At the same time, there is a spate of development going on around the 800-acre reservation, just east of Southampton Village and near Westwoods, a waterfront tract the tribe owns west of the Shinnecock Canal.

The pressures on Indian lands are more acute here because the Shinnecocks live on some of the most desirable real estate in America [???] waterfront property that would sell for a lot more than the 16 coats and three-score bushels of corn that English settlers handed over in the mid-17th century in exchange for a large tract of land.

Archaeology

When the Shinnecocks were offered the coats and corn by the colonists they assumed it was in exchange for letting the English share the land for a while, having, according to Mr. Strong, no concept of property ownership. Their remaining lands have been whittled away through slow encroachment; at time, puppet chiefs were set up to sign the deeds of sale.

But Sugar Loaf and Gravesend have helped make Southampton and East Hampton officials keenly aware of archaeological concerns.

In the past half-year alone, Southampton has acquired archaeological assessments, including test holes, on 30 proposed subdivisions. They were rare in the past, according to the town's planning director, Thomas Thorsen.

The "European" View

Voicing what Native Americans disparagingly call The "European" view, as opposed to the Indian one, the owner of the Sugar Loaf house, Michael C. Nappa, in a interview this week, denied that his property was a "burial ground", saying that two digs there had turned out nothing.

Mr. Nappa, a car dealer from Tenafly, N.J., said the stone chips that had been found on Sugar Loaf Hill in the past belonged to nomadic tribes unrelated to Shinnecocks: "We're talking about Orients 3,000 years ago-that's before Christ."

Mr. Strong refuted this. "It's like saying that the Greeks today are not connected with the Greeks that built the Acropolis," he said.

At Friday's Town Board hearing, a lawyer for one of the Gravesend Avenue neighbors, who for several reasons has joined the Montauk and Shinnecock Indians in opposing it, pointed to the dangers of the "European" view of what makes sacred ground. "How many bones do we need to find?" asked the lawyer, Richard Matthews. "Is a leg bone good? Does a collarbone do?"

Contempt charged

David Bunn Siklos, Shinnecock artist and owner of the Tepee in the Hills Indian Trading Post, attributed

(continued . . .)

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READING 4 continued . . .

the disturbance of sacred sites such as Sugar Loaf Hill to a contempt of Indians. "I can't imagine they'd have anything like that happen to a colonial cemetery," he said.

He compared it to a museum that put Indians on display, particularly the collection of 18,600 Indian skeletons in the Smithsonian Institution. "It all comes from the old attitude that the Indians are not really human beings," he said, adding that it is an old Indian belief that if a person's remains are disturbed, the soul will be unable to rise to heaven.

Behind Mr. Bunn Siklos on the wall of his store is a painting he did on an ancient funeral at Sugar Loaf Hill.

Legally Gray

The antithetical beliefs of Native Americans and whites have clashed in lawsuits over sacred grounds across the country. In a 1984 essay, "Civil Rights, Indian Rites," a professor of religious studies at the University of California's Santa Barbara campus, Robert S. Michaelsen, notes that these cases, in which rights of public access are often pitted against the religious freedom of Native Americans, seem to enter a gray area of the law.

He writes that for Indians, sacred places are usually those "understood to be places in which people originated and the loci of other significant events in tribal life. They may also be thought to be ... axes upon which the world turns."

But the Indians' "special relation to place" tends not to be understood or easily codified by the rest of the society, "possibly because we are a nation of movers, and hence do not tend to invest particular areas with sanctity."

He goes on to cite recent litigation on control of sacred sites, most of which has been lost by the Indians.

Reluctant Leadership

Several of the Native Americans at Friday's hearing asserted that Gravesend has become a national issue. "There are many across the country who will be watching this," Mr. Bunn Siklos told the Town Board. He handed the board a petition with, he said, 700 names collected at the Labor Day weekend Shinnecock Powwow, against the proposed road.

However, the Shinnecock leadership itself seems reluctant to join any such battle, reportedly for fear of jeopardizing an application for Federal recognition (the tribe is recognized as such only by the state).

Mr. Bunn-Siklos said that the Sugar Loaf Coalition had gone as far as retaining a lawyer to fight the house when the three tribal trustees "let it all fizzle." If a Mohawk grave site were disturbed, he said, "You would have 200 armed Indians on your doorstep." But the Shinnecock trustees, he charged," are paranoid about causing waves. When it comes to facing some white politician in a three-piece suit, they crumple. Unless they start asserting themselves, it's never going to change."

"Enough Problems"

Many of the reservation disagree. The minister of the Shinnecock Presbyterian Church, Michael Smith, who grew up on the reservation and returned with a degree from the Princeton Theological Seminary, argues that battles over sacred sites are diversions.

"Lord knows we got enough problems to address within the confines of the land we have right now," he said recently. "There's a sign that says Shinnecock Indian Reservation. Those signs don't make us immune to problems of the larger community."

"I can't afford the luxury of raising the question of the violation of the grave of a unknown person while my children are in jeopardy of being killed by someone driving high on crack or alcohol or my children are going to a school where their education is neglected," he added. Rev. Smith, who has four children, runs a tutoring program for Shinnecock students who attend the Southampton public schools.

"They Don't Know"

Some older people on the reservation argue that city-raised younger people are simply troublemakers.

"I remained here on the reservation, I didn't go out to seek my own fortune," said Harold K. Williams, a tribal trustee for over 31 years. "Now, some people come back, they say they're coming home, like that commercial, 'Come home to Busch Beer,' I can go back when every road here was a wagon trail, like the Old West. Those coming back here grew up in the city. They don't know what it was like to survive here."

Mr. Williams took great pains to explain, several times, that the reservation is a peninsula, surrounded by a horseshoe of Shinnecock Bay which forms a natural boundary that protects it from further encroachment. Asked about pressing land claims for territory beyond the current reservation, he said, "Let's keep what we have," and added, "I would like to say to the young people, although we lost so many acres, how wise our forefathers must have been in making the choice to settle on this land."

If Mr. Nappa's sprawling house has clearly gained ascendancy over the spirits on Sugar Loaf Hill, the memory of the protest there still haunts the town of Southampton. The planning director has $10,000 extra in his 1990 budget for an archaeological consultant, suggesting that the land's cultural significance may eventually become as important as ecology.

"Sugar Loaf brought it into focus," said the Planning board chairman Roy Wines, "Like the tiger salamander."

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UNIT II – TRADITIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD

READING 5

Archaeologists Unearth Indian Fort Here

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Archaeologists investigating the site of a proposed development in Shinnecock Hills have discovered the faint remains of what they believe was a wooden Indian fort and a surrounding village inhabited by the Shinnecock Tribe when the first settlers landed in North Sea almost exactly 350 years ago – on June 12, 1640.

The announcement of the discovery of the long-lost fort last Thursday came in the midst of Southampton's ongoing birthday celebrations and has delighted town officials. They said they hope to see the rolling, wooded site north of Montaut Highway, one of only four Indian forts on the East End, acquired for preservation.

Historical records contain frequent references to the Shinnecock fort, which the tribe used to protect itself from other Indian nations in the northeastern United States. But over the last century, researchers never had been able to find the fort's remains, which extend beyond the boundaries of the 7.5-acre subdivision west of Sugar Loaf Road and east of Peconic Road. The development moratorium also would cover Sugar Loaf Hill, which was an Indian burial ground to the south and east of the fort site.

"Some people are talking about this as the most important cultural find in the history of Long Island," Planning Board Chairman Roy L. Wines Jr. said in a reference to the fort's discovery last Friday.

He said the discovery couldn't have come at a more fortuitous time, as the town celebrates its 350th anniversary and recalls the day when colonial settlers stepped ashore at Conscience Point in North Sea. A reenactment of the settlers' landing was staged Tuesday.

A team of archaeologists led by Robert Miller of Clover Archaeological Services in Huntington found the fort over the past year while researching the site of the "Bayberry Hills" proposed five-lot subdivision for the town's Planning Department. Planning Department Director Thomas Thorsen announced the results of Mr. Miller's study at a special Planning Board meeting last Thursday morning. Three members of the Shinnecock Tribe attended.

Brad Smith, one of three ruling tribal trustees for the Shinnecocks, hailed the discovery as being of "the greatest importance" to the Indians. Tribal leaders are anxious to work cooperatively with town government to ensure that the site is preserved, he said during an interview after the Planning Board meeting.

John Strong, the president of the Suffolk County Archaeological Association and a professor at Long Island University's Southampton Campus, said he does not believe the site was just a fort; he believes it had a ceremonial function and was a market ground.

Town payments are jealously guarding information about the precise location of the fort, fearful that souvenir hunters will descend on the area in search of arrowheads and possibly destroy the treasured site.

The fort is about a mile west of the Shinnecock Indian Reservation and near the ancient Indian burial ground on Sugar Loaf Hill.

Archaeologists have also documented another Indian village to the north in the Sebonac area east of Cold Spring Pond.

The discovery of the Indian fort and village clearly appears to be the most important find that has been made since the towns Planning Department started ordering regular archaeological studies on subdivisions in late 1988.

Mr. Thorsen, the Planning Department director, said the town started ordering the studies after a New Jersey man constructed a house on top of the Sugar Loaf Hill burial grounds earlier that year, prompting protests from Indians and archaeologists alike, including Mr. Strong. The town's Building and Zoning Department had issued a building permit for the home without knowing of the burial ground's existence.

Since that time, the Planning Department has been reviewing subdivision proposals against maps from the Suffolk County Archaeological Association that show areas of possible archaeological concern.

Remains of Posts

Mr. Thorsen said Mr. Miller and his team of six archaeologists unearthed "post molds," darkened stains left in the sandy soil by the decaying wood posts used to support the fort's exterior walls. The team also unearthed various types of stone tools, an arrowhead, and even handfuls of small shark teeth, which Mr. Miller believes could have been used as an abrasive in woodworking.

No one knows how many people occupied the fort and village or for how long. Mr Miller believes it may be up to 1,000 years old based on some of the artifacts he uncovered. His report said the area was occupied either seasonally or year-round "by a large number of people during the period 1630-1660," the era when the Town of Southampton was founded.

"The Town of Southampton should be most grateful for his work in uncovering the location of the long sought-after lost Shinnecock village fort here in our town," Mr. Thorsen said in a memo dated June 1. "The find...holds particular significance during our 350th anniversary of settlement by colonists because this village fort...was inhabited by the very tribe of friendly Indians which welcomed our colonists ashore in 1640."

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READING 6

Indian Reservation Sealed Off After 2 Killings

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Hundreds of New York and Canadian police officers sealed of this Mohawk reservation on the St. Lawrence Rivers today after violence that left two Mohawks dead and forced thousands of others to barricade themselves in their homes or flee.

Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, at a tense news conference in Albany this morning, said National Guard units had been put on alert but ruled out their immediate use.

He said he had dispatched his director of state operations and policy management, Henrik N. Dullea, to the scene in an effort to negotiate a peaceful resolution of the dispute between groups favoring and opposing casino gambling on the reservation.

'The Force of Reason'

"Before you use a military force, you should use the force of reason," Mr. Cuomo said.

The reservation has been torn for decades by disputes between Indians who consider themselves traditionalist and who do not recognize Federal and state authority and have a leadership based on heredity, and those known as tribal Indians who have an elected leadership and do recognize outside governments.

"The deep-seated issues in Indian country are not just about gambling or a dispute between two local factions," said Ron LaFrance, acting director of the American Indian Program at Cornell University and a sub-chief of the Mohawk Nation Council of Chiefs. "It's a question of who is going to have jurisdiction and under what conditions."

In the current dispute over gambling, members of the heavily armed Warrior Society, a self-appointed "sovereignty force" that favors gambling, have discharged thousands of round of ammunition in the last week and set fire to dozens of cars parked along Route 37, the main highway.

Members of the society, the anti-gambling forces say, have become corrupted by the easy money, fancy cars, alcohol, drugs and guns that they say flow into St. Regis because of the large casinos here. They say operators of the gambling parlors pay the Warriors, who are armed with assault rifles, to terrorize the rest of the community and to discourage them from trying to shut the parlors down.

"It's become lawlessness, utter lawlessness on our land," said Brenda LaFrance, a former tribal council member and a leader of the anti-gambling forces. Harold Tarbell, the chief of one of three competing tribal governments that claim jurisdiction over the Indian land here, described the situation as "total chaos."

Mr. Tarbell and other Mohawks today repeated their calls for Governor Cuomo to send in the National Guard to disperse members of the Warrior Society. Warrior Society members remained defiant and said New York authorities could not pressure them into abandoning their role as a security force at St. Regis. They also accused the state police of closing outside traffic to the reservation in an effort to starve them into submission.

"The state police have blown it," said Diane Lazores, who identified herself on the telephone as a spokeswoman at the Warrior Society headquarters, well inside the reservation. "And now," she said, reading from an international incident, they'll get one."

The two shooting deaths Tuesday occurred on Canadian soil, but many Indians here say the gunshots came from the American side of the reservation, few hundred feet away, and members of the Warrior Society remained grouped there today.

All entrances to the reservation which many Indians call by its Mohawk name of Akwesasne, were closed today, and the huge gambling parlors at the center of the controversy, with names like Tony's Vegas International and the Golden Nugget, stood empty their neon signs darkened.

The parlors, some open 24 hours a day under usual circumstances, make millions of dollars in profits a year, and are often filled with visitors from as far as Ohio and Montreal. They pull at slot machines and spin roulette wheels in smoke-filled halls that many gambling opponents here say are as far removed from traditional Mohawk culture as one could possibly get.

'A Psychological Addiction'

"It's a psychological addiction in itself," said Winston George, who lives a few hundred feet from where a casino opponent, Matthew Pyke, was shot early Tuesday as he walked from a friend's house in a wooded area near the United States-Canadian border.

"They've got the power, and it just takes over their mind," Mr. George said of the Warrior Society members.

The gambling controversy has become increasingly bitter in the last year, dividing families. One woman of the fringe of the reservation, who asked not to be named for fear of retaliation, said her uncle and two cousins had become rich operating a gambling parlor and had built a fancy house and bought two Cadillacs with the profits.

There have been no arrests in either fatal shooting, though Quebec provincial officers began combing the area for evidence early today. Quebec authorities said Mr. Pyke was 22 years old, although some Indians, who knew him said he was 23.

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UNIT II – TRADITIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD

READING 7

Putting Tradition to the Test

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The Iroquois Nationals, a team reflecting a millennium of Native American history, will journey into the world of big-time lacrosse in the next month.

On Friday night, the Nationals will play the New York Athletic Club in the opening match of the Lacrosse USA tournament at Griffin Stadium in Liverpool, N.Y., just west of Syracuse. The six-team tournament will be a tough test for the Nationals, a squad composed of 26 players chosen from five of the six tribes of the Iroquois Nation: the Cayuga, the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Seneca and the Tuscarora.

If the Nationals should beat the New York Athletic Club, a premier club team staffed by former Cornell stars, they would face Team USA, a formidable outfit regarded as the world's best in the sport Indians began playing at least a thousand years ago.

The final will be played at Liverpool on Sunday afternoon and then the Lacrosse focus moves to Perth, Australia, where the world championship will be decided July 8-15 among teams representing Australia, Canada, England, the United States plus the Iroquois Nation.

"Our team has a great opportunity ahead of it," said Oren Lyons, an Onondaga chief, during a recent interview on the reservation, five miles south of Syracuse. Lyons, honorary chairman of the Nationals, was an all-America player on an undefeated Syracuse team in 1957 that included Jim Brown, the football star, and Roy Simmons Jr., the present Orange coach.

The Nationals will travel abroad with their own passports as a team representing a sovereign nation. The Iroquois passport, a practical symbol of sovereignty, evolved from negotiations with the State Department, Canada, Britain and other countries and has been used since 1977.

7 Victories in 9 Games

The Nationals will represent the 20,000 contemporary members of the Iroquois Nation, most of whom live by choice on seven reservations in New York State and southern Ontario.

The team was assembled from a pool of about 100 players and completed a spring schedule by winning seven of nine games against intercollegiate opposition.

Lyons, a 60-year-old associate professor of Native American Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo and a world figure in protecting the rights of indigenous people, had a comment about the Australians.

"They wanted us because they knew our team is an attraction, " he said. "Also they have their problems with their aborigines.

"We contacted the aboriginal leaders there and they told us they'd come to the tournament. They said, 'Do you want us to come as fans? Or do you want us to start a riot?"

Lyons settled for fans

The Nationals have no home field. "Not even a locker room or a shower, " said Irving Powless, the Onondaga's chief and father of Barry, one of the midfielders.

The players, spread across the state, practice at different sites on weekends. One of them, Tyler Sunday, is a police officer at the St. Regis reservation, scene of the current conflicts over legalized gambling. Lyons, Powless and others are hopeful that the lacrosse team will help bind the wounds of the so-called bingo wars among factions of the Iroquois.

Oren's son, Rex, is a key player as are his nephews, Kent and Scott. So are the three Burnam brothers, Dan, Mark and Scott, all of whom played in college. About half the Nationals, whose average age is 26, were college athletes; most are married, reside on the reservations and work elsewhere.

Two older players famous as attackmen, Sid Hill and Jimmy Bissell Jr., have consented to move to defense, regarded as an Iroquois weakness.

Lacrosse is the Indians' stick-and-ball game. They invented it, perhaps 1,000 years ago, and played it with varying styles across the North American continent. The name came from French missionaries who thought the stick resembled the ceremonial cross carried by bishops.

Early viewers of lacrosse misunderstood what they saw, Lyons said. For example, Abbe Ferland, a 17th-century French explorer, claimed, "The arms and legs of the players were frequently broken, some crippled for life and many killed."

'Lacrosse Was Not War'

The Native Americans were merely playing a game, rough as it may have seemed. Lyons said: "We were playing team sports here when over there, they were still knocking people off horses, clubbing each other, fencing for keeps, all those so-called sports.

"So what does that say about society? The Indians put their technology into games. Lacrosse was not war. They settled disputes that way, played a game of lacrosse instead of fighting. Very civilized, I'd say.

Native American lore holds that lacrosse was a gift from the Creator and that one of the first games was between teams of four-legged animals and winged birds.

The birds won. An owl scored the winning goal with an assist from a squirrel who had been cut from the animal team because he was too small. The birds had made a wing for the squirrel by cutting leather from the corner of the dance drum, snapping it to the legs.

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UNIT III – GOOD MEDICINE

READING 8

Give it Back to the Indians?

Newsweek, December 7, 1987

The residents of western South Dakota aren't sure what to make of Phillip J. Stevens. If anything, the confusion has gotten worse since the California entrepreneur first showed up last year with an extraordinary – some would say outlandish – proposal to make the federal government award $3.1 million to the Sioux Indians in addition to 1.3 million acres already being sought. Many Indians like the promise of the billions in back rent and "mineral royalties." Other residents, whites and Indians included, suspect that Stevens is a pin-striped interloper – even if he does claim to be Standing Bear's great grandson. They worry he is more interested in shameless self-promotion than the well-being of the tribe. They also think his goal is also probably impossible to achieve.

Stevens is undaunted by all the controversy. A former director of the Air Force's Minuteman 3 program and chairman of an engineering firm that he just sold for $89 million, he is determined to do whatever it takes to force Washington to make amends. A press conference in late November launched a campaign to promote his idea. "We're getting the whole nation geared up," he says. This effort, which he apparently intends to pay for himself, is supposed to include marches on Washington, petition drives and a series of television programs extolling the nobility of Native Americans.

Stevens is hardly the first to take an interest in the Sioux's grievance. The Indians' claim to the beautiful Black Hills region, which they see as sacred ground, goes back to an 1868 treaty that gave them the area outright. Six years later gold was discovered, and by 1877 the tribe had been bludgeoned into surrendering the land. In 1980 a tortuous 60-year lawsuit finally produced an agreement favorable to the Sioux. But the Indians have refused to accept the proposed $191 million cash settlement awarded by the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1985 New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley raised the stakes by proposing that Washington return some of the disputed land along with the $191 million cash compensation. (The Mount Rushmore memorial, Ellsworth Air Force Base and private land would be exempted.) Yet Bradley's proposal was not well received among white South Dakotans, who fear that it would destroy land values, and its has stalled in the Senate.

Stevens's plan is similar – but much pricier. The California millionaire calculates that $191 million worth of investment would yield no more that 60 cents a day to each living Sioux. And as he sees it, "That doesn't buy you a McDonald's hamburger." So he has proposed the whopping $3 billion payment, which could be used to create jobs and improve conditions on Sioux reservations. Stevens's scheme faces much the same kind of opposition that Bradley's did. Tribal leaders feel that cash compensation would cheapen the sacred value of the land. And many whites don't like the plan because they fear what would happen to the Black Hills. Says Joseph Cash, a white who heads the state university's Institute of Indian Studies, "South Dakota is very fond of the Black Hills . . . and there's a feeling that the Indians will, to put it bluntly, trash it." Besides, he adds, "there is a certain amount of flat-out prejudice."

Stevens's most strenuous opponent, Democratic South Dakota Sen. Tom Daschle, worries that the campaign could provoke a "civil war" in South Dakota. That, at this point, seems a bit farfetched. On the other hand, it's not every day that a self-professed Sioux leader shows up in South Dakota with millions to burn.

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UNIT III – GOOD MEDICINE

READING 9

The Significance of Four

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Four has many important meanings to the Sioux. The Native Americans look for many meanings and signs from the Great Spirit's creation. Non-Indians use the term Mother Nature. Indian people believe that "Mother Nature" can be a living bible from which one can see, hear, touch, feel, and learn a great deal. Nature or Mother Earth was made by the Great Spirit; therefore, there are obviously many revelations that the two-leggeds may learn if they simply have the sense to look. One sign that they have observed is the many examples of four.

There are four faces, or four ages: the face of the child, the face of the adolescent, the face of the adult, the face of the aged.

There are four directions or four winds, four seasons, four quarters of the universe, four races of man and woman-red, yellow, black, and white.

There are four things that breathe: those that crawl, those that fly, those that are two-legged, those that are four-legged.

There are four things above the earth: sun, moon, stars, planets.

There are four parts to the green things: roots, stem, leaves, fruit.

There are four divisions of time: day, night, moon, year.

There are four elements: fire, water, air, earth.

Even the human heart is divided into four compartments.

Since the Creator has made so many things in four, the Indian therefore strives to express, in ceremony and in symbology, a reflection of four: There are four endurances in the Sweat Lodge, four-direction offerings in the ripe Ceremony, and four-direction facings in the Sun Dance. The vision quester carries four colors and places these four colors in a square within which he or she sits.

I was doubly blessed in that two powerful holy men, Fools Crow and Eagle Feather, took me under their spiritual wings. Fools Crow was schooled by a holy man named Stirrup and by an old Sun Dance Intercessor named Spotted Crow. He also received some of his knowledge from Nicholas Black Elk. Eagle Feather learned much of his wisdom from Fools Crow. My grandmother and Ben Black Elk led me toward these two holy men. Therefore, I can say four people led me down my red path – four influential people who respected the red way.

It was through the two wichasha wakans (holy men) that I was exposed to our Lakota beliefs and ceremonial manner of beseechment, expression, and thanksgiving. Not only were these men wise in the ways of the spirit, but they were great storehouses of wisdom applicable to everyday living.

I was not born into my traditional Indian knowledge. In my earlier years, I was blinded to the good of our Indian Way, primarily by the Christian missionaries, who dominated our reservation for a long time. They were a strong force on all Indian reservations. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, a federal agency, worked hand in hand with the missionaries to subvert and destroy native ways.

One must bear in mind that, in the recent past, the great majority of Indian youth were educated in boarding schools, separated from their parents for most of their developmental years, in the names of education, assimilation, and proselytizing salvation. The missionaries at Pine Ridge and throughout the Dakotas, for example, ran large boarding schools from grades one through twelve. All of my brothers and sisters were sent to Holy Rosary Mission Boarding School, save the last two of us. Indian religion at this institution was regarded as heathen and pagan, with no value relative to one's spiritual growth.

My parents were kind and loving. Although we were poorer and less "modern" than our non-Indian counterparts (neither of my parents ever learned how to drive a car), we didn't know it, because the love in our home made up for everything. My sister Delores and I would have had to suffer the long separation from our parents in the boarding school had not two events spared us from this ordeal. One was the death of my older sister Elsie at the boarding school; the other event was World War II.

Elsie died of pneumonia. Her death was not anyone's "fault"; many children died of pneumonia and tuberculosis; many Indians, adults as well as children, were susceptible to tuberculosis. But my parents were not notified of Elsie's illness until only a few days before her death. My oldest brother, Albert, was informed in class, quite heartlessly, by his teacher, "Albert, your sister Elsie died. They buried her yesterday."

World War II came after Elsie's death, and the northern end of our reservation was designated an Air Force bombing and aerial machinegun range. My father's ranch was within this range, and all of the Indians in this area had to move out in a short time. My family moved to Rapid City, where my father found employment at the new military air base under construction. Four of my brothers volunteered and served in World War II, seeing combat action throughout the war theaters.

Every autumn, the reservation priests would come to Rapid City and round up Indian youth for the board-

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READING 9 continued . . .

ing schools. Had we still lived on the reservation, we would have been compelled to attend, but living off the reservation gave us the legal right to attend public schools. I went to public school in Rapid City, where I received a better education than I would have had at the boarding schools.

I am very thankful that I missed out on the boarding schools and that I wasn't separated from my parents. I was also fortunate to have the Black Hills, the sacred Paha Sapa (Black Hills), as my childhood playground. I swam in a clear mountain stream, not some square, concrete, adventureless municipal pool. The Paha Sapa afforded trout fishing, camping, and spiritual spaciousness. My taste for adventure was allowed to spawn at an early age, thanks to this wonderful resource. The Sioux legally own the Black Hills through the treaty signed in 1868, which my tribe won in combat under Chief Red Cloud's leadership.

My playground may have been a child's utopia but my mother made sure that I attended Sunday mass and catechism at the parochial church close to our neighborhood in Rapid City. Being Indians, my sister and I were never socially accepted at this church. We felt like outcasts in our first communion and catechism classes, where we were taught that if we ever missed Sunday church and died unconfessed, we would go straight to hell with a mortal sin. Not being welcomed by our peers, we used to walk across town to feel less conspicuous in what at the time seemed a spacious cathedral.

Church was a dilemma for us. We were shunned and made fun of by some of the non-Indians, yet we were taught to be fearful and afraid to miss church. I am much more comfortable with my own concept of the Great Spirit, but as little children we didn't know any better.

In high school, I found a social outlet in sports. I had few dates, as there were no Indian girls in my class of several hundred students, but I did meet some good friends on the sports field. These friendships still exist.

I also started Indian dancing in my junior and senior years, and this powwow dancing led me down to my spirit path back to my ancestry and the red way-my finding of the power of the hoop.

Powwow dancing is not a religious or true ceremonial form of dance. It is social dancing and is done simply for fun and enjoyment. It is very different from the serious religious form of dance, as in the Sun Dance, in which the dancer is a praying participant more than a dancer. The powwow regalia and social dance gathering allow natural expression and natural form, which emanate from the dancer. The eagle feathers swivel in bone sockets mounted in a stiff-haired porcupine hair roach (pay sha), worn as a headpiece. The pay sha accents the dancer's head movements. The shoulder bustle and tail bustle mounted on the dancer's backside accent the shoulder and hip movements. Bells around padded fur anklets help the dancer's feet keep time to the drumbeats.

Women also join in powwow dancing, although their attire is different. When my sister danced, she wore beautiful, beaded buckskin dresses.

Powwow dancing is very individual. One doesn't have to worry about a partner, and the dancer can express himself or herself within the drumbeat as the dancers dance in a circle within the dance arena. Social dancing is a happy time, a relaxing time, for each drumbeat seems to match one's heartbeat. At Pine Ridge, my sister and I would powwow dance long into the night, and then we would watch the Sun Dance Ceremony in the morning.

In the mornings, I was moved deeply by the sun dancers. This ceremony drew me like a magnet. I never thought of being a sun dancer as I watched. I was simply moved spiritually. It isn't until I went off to war and returned safely that I danced my first Sun Dance.

Ben Black Elk, the interpreter for the book Black Elk Speaks, named me, as a boy, Wanblee Hoksila (Eagle Boy). Later, when I became a fighter pilot and a warrior who returned to dance the Sun Dance, Ben, Bill Eagle Feather, and the Sun Dance chief, Fools Crow named me Wanblee Wichasha (Eagle Man).

My grandmother prepared me for the spiritual knowledge I would gain from these three mentors. At the beginning of this chapter, I pointed out that four has many significant meanings. I am thankful that these four "influencers" led me toward my red path.

My father was a good influence also; although he conveyed little Lakota culture or tradition, he did tell me many stories about life on the reservation, and these stories included many events and happenings among the old-timers who had tasted the freedom of the plains. He spoke of God through the eyes and ears of the Indian, but told us to do our mother's bidding and go to church. He didn't want any trouble with the priests, for, to us, they were powerful. Eventually, the Jesuits built an Indian Mission in Rapid City, and we felt more comfortable going to church with our own kind.

My grandmother had long braids and always wore ankle-length dresses. She had her own cabin on the reservation, and it was a treat to visit her there. Actually, in white man terms she was my stepgrandmother, but traditional Siouxs do not use that kind of language. We do not like to use the terms half brothers, stepsisters and other such family designations. In our customs, we consider each other as full brothers and sisters regardless of having a different father or mother. My grandmother was a great source of stories, especially when she and my father would sit telling tales of long ago. Ben also visited my family and told of the old ways. My father, Grandma, and Ben cast the memories that sprouted my Indian Spirit alive when I saw Bill Eagle Feather and Fools Crow at the first Sun Dance.

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UNIT III – GOOD MEDICINE

READING 10

The Sioux Sun Dance

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While the Vision Quest is a lone beseechment, an individual ceremony, the Sun Dance is a tribal gathering, a tribal beseechment and an expression of thanksgiving. The Sioux Sun Dance Ceremony lasts four days. In times gone by, it was held after the summer buffalo hunts, when the buffalo meat was cured and dried for winter provisions. It was a time of celebration and plenty. The Sun Dance of today is usually held in late July or early August. It is started on a Thursday in order that the fourth day will be a Sunday, a day that most people do not have to work.

The Sun Dance chief (Intercessor) arrives early in the week to set up his campsite and supervise the raising of the large ceremonial tipi where the sun dancers will dress and prepare. Sweat lodges will be built. Firewood and heating stones will be gathered. Intercessor is also a term used to designate the most responsible person. I prefer the term Sun Dance chief.

The Sun Dance chief is responsible for the ceremonial activities that take place and makes most major decisions during the four days of the event. He is usually the most respected holy man among the medicine people and, of course, very knowledgeable in the ways and traditions of the Sioux.

On the day before the first ceremony day, a felling party goes out to a cottonwood tree, and a woman, representative of the Buffalo Calf Woman, takes the first cut on the tree with an axe. She speaks to the tree and tells it that her people are sorry to have to take the tree's life but the ceremony is necessary because it will be the Wiwanyag Wachipi, a ceremony in which the people dance, gazing at the sun. It is a ceremony, she explains "highly important, for by doing it, the people will live."

Ropes are attached to the tree and it is cut down. The felling party is careful that it does not fall upon the ground but is supported by short poles across the shoulders of the people. Many of its branches are pruned, and it is carried back to the Sun Dance arena, a large circle bordered by a shading bower made of poles and cut Pine boughs under which the people will gather and pray together as they watch the Sun Dance. On the way to the arena, the carrying party sets the tree down and rests four times.

The cottonwood tree is planted in the center of the arena. Before the tree is raised, a peace pipe is placed in a hole dug for the tree trunk. In the old days, buffalo tallow was also placed in the hole to acknowledge the rich provisions given by the buffalo to the people.

Cloth banners in the colors of the four directions are tied to the branches with green and blue banners for Mother Earth and Father Sky. Above the long bolts of cloth, a rawhide cutout of a buffalo is tied with a rawhide cutout of a human image. Twelve chokecherry branches are tied crosswise beneath the buffalo antl the human images. The branches symbolize the twelve moons, the twelve months of the year. The cutouts represent thankfulness. The people are thankful for their lives. The buffalo represents provisions that were placed on the plains by the Almighty, Wakan Tanka.

The tree is finally raised, and the camp area springs to life with new arrivals coming not only from the Oglalas, but the Hunkpapas, Brules, Yanktons, Minnecoujous, and all the rest of the Lakota tribes and bands.

The evening of the tree moving, a Sweat Lodge ceremony is held for the Sun Dance pledgers. In these pledges, one promises to undergo the piercing pain of the Sun Dance ceremony. Those who pledge usually take their vow the preceding year and live their lives accordingly, keeping in mind that they will be dancing the ceremony before the people the spirit world, and ultimately before the six powers of the universe and Wakan Tanka.

The pledged dancers seek to avoid disharmony and strive to conduct themselves in an appropriate manner. The Sweat Lodge Ceremony usually brings forth a restatement of the pledgers to pierce on the fourth day. Within the lodge, anyone who beheves that one who has pledged has not conducted himself in a respectful manner is bound by honor to speak out.

Because of my closeness to war and violence-I was recently back from Vietnam, where I had flown 110 combat missions-I was not allowed to pierce in my first Sun Dance even though I had taken the vow in Fools Crow's Yuwipi more than a year before. I was pierced for the first time in my second Sun Dance.

There is another reason for not piercing a first-time sun dancer. In older times, the holy men wanted to study a first-time dancer and test his sincerity. They would observe the way he conducted himself in his first Sun Dance. If the dancer came back the second year, his return would be taken as a positive indication and a sign of sincerity.

My first Sun Dance, I danced with a small boy, mostly off to the eastern side of the dance circle. It was a fairly simple ceremony for me and the boy and yet, during the fourth day, I received a very profound vision, a deeper vision than any that I had when I was pierced and leaning back from my rope. I saw the Buffalo Calf Woman quite clearly up in the clouds. It gave me strength and a deep realization of the significance of the red way as the spiritual path that I would follow.

The first day of the Sun Dance begins in the early

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morning with a Sweat Lodge Ceremony for the male dancers. For those who have not been purified in the lodge the night before, the morning sweat will get the later-arriving dancers ready.

The men wear a kilt skirt secured by a belt around the waist. Many dancers simply use a woman's shawl as a dance skirt or kilt. Sage wreaths circle the dancers' wrists and ankles, and a more elaborate wreath with a pair of upright eagle feathers is placed on the head like a crown. As a necklace, many dancers wear a rawhide cutout of a sunflower, painted yellow with a black center. All dancers carry eagle-bone or wooden whistles and a peace pipe.

The dancer's chest receives a symbol from the holy man, usually painted in red. Before a dancer is pierced on the fourth day the holy men also paint a symbol on the dancer's back. The symbol upon my chest was a petroglyph-like eagle. On the fourth day Bill Eagle Feather and Fools Crow drew four lines zig-zagging up and down my back.

After all are dressed, the men file out of the tipi and join the waiting women sun dancers. The women wear plain white dresses made of cloth or buckskin. The elaborate beadwork often found on buckskin dresses is absent on these dresses. At most, simple beadwork in a symbolic design or in the colors of the four directions-red, yellow, black, and white-adorn the dress. In modern times, the more comfortable cotton or monk's cloth dresses are worn since buckskin can become quite hot under a July or August sun.

In the five Sun Dances that I participated in at Pine Ridge Reservation, the same man carried a buffalo skull and led the line of dancers behind the leading holy men and the sun dance chief.

When I was a sun dancer, a reservation missionary took strong exception to our religious expression. The crowds had been growing each year for our Sun Dances, and each had been more successful than the last. The missionary interpreted this success as a threat to his more structured institution and Christian spirituality. The reservation mission was well staffed and well supported by donors from off the reservation, so the missionary had ample funds to use to fight the Sun Dance. The mission was also the largest landowner on the reservation, partially because elderly people often willed over their lands at the time that the mission's last rites were conducted. The mission had power, and it was used on the tribal council to combat the Sun Dance.

When I was on leave from the military, I had come to watch the Sun Dance, but instead I watched the missionary drive his pickup into the arena and stop the dance so that he could celebrate Mass at the base of the Sun Dance tree. His portable altar was unloaded, and I had to watch a non-Indian ceremony take precedence over our people's ceremony right on my own reservation.

There are several reasons that I want to describe the overzealousness of the missionary. First, I do not want anyone to think that we had an easy time bringing our traditional ways back. I wish to emphasize how destructive it is for people to attempt to impugn a proven culture in order to impose their own religious practices. It is especially inconsiderate when they pick on people who have been beaten down and defeated. These are hard things to hear and hard to share, but I do not want our early battles to be forgotten.

This same missionary had been successful over the years in replacing our ceremonies with his own, and he was going to try again the third year that I was a sun dancer. His ultimate plan was to stop the Sun Dance altogether if he could. The tribal council, stacked with his church members, had decreed that the Sun Dance would last only three days, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. Saturday would be the piercing day. On Sunday, the missionary would say his Mass at the base of the Sun Dance tree.

The dancers and holy men were too afraid to challenge the authority of both the priest and the tribal council. All pierced on the third day. I did not. My warrior's blood was up, and I was not afraid of the missionary. He shook his fist at me and told me that I must put his God into our ceremony. When I would not relent, he claimed to have some special knowledge or power to predict that my spirit would not go to a good place. I was glad that I was a traditional Sioux; since we do not have a concept of the devil, he was not able to use that age-old tactic to scare me into submission.

As he was ranting and raving at me, I was moved to accept the role of the mystic warriors of the past. He threatened me, and I felt the need of strong spiritual armor. These mystic warriors were like knights of old. They were the spiritual helpers to the holy men and holy women, and they were fighters to protect the spiritual ways. And the holy men would not have total power to frighten the people with bad spirits to keep them under control.

I was too stubborn for the priest. On the fourth day I was the lone sun dancer. Fools Crow pierced me, and an old man named Loon stood beside me with a cane. He was half-blind and half-crippled, but he threatened to hit anybody who attempted to stop the piercing. I had challenged a lot of authority and caused a great deal of commotion, but the Sun Dance that year went the full four days.

The next year, the missionary made one last-ditch effort to change our ceremony. But at that point, the young people of the tribe rose up. They surrounded the priest when he tried to force his way onto the Sun Dance grounds. The young people warned him to leave us alone or else he would face some serious trouble.

There is no rehearsal for a Sun Dance. It is a ceremonial prayer, and like all Indian prayers is spon-

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taneous. Although the ceremony is certainly dramatic, the traditional Indians are not putting on a show or trying to impress onlookers, especially outsiders. The Sun Dance is simply an annual prayer of thanksgiving to the Great Spirit and to all of the powers between the breathing ones and Wakan Tanka.

But even in this spontaneous prayer, certain forms are followed. A woman is selected from among the dancers, and she is the first to enter the dance arena. This woman dances alone and makes a full circle around the cottonwood tree, dancing to the beat of the drums. As she rejoins the waiting participants, the entering song is sung by the singers who are stationed around the barrel-sized drums situated at the four directional points on the periphery of the circle. The dancers then enter from the east and proceed sunrise (clockwise), shuffling around the arena to a slow drumbeat. When the line of dancers comes full circle, thy are stopped on the eastern side by the Sun Dance chief. At that time, the sun has risen from the plains. Each day the sun is considered as a helper to bring new knowledge into our lives. Beseechment songs are sung to the powers and blessings of the east. When the songs are finished, the dancers are directed to the south, and songs recognizing all that is good and needed from the south for the two-leggeds are sung. The line of dancers is then moved to the west and finally to the north, and the honoring songs are sung to each of those powers to complete the greetings to the four directions.

The dancers are next taken to a bower where they rest on shaded benches while a holy man or holy woman addresses the crowd. The address usually tells of the way of the Sun Dance and imparts a message on morals and values for the tribe. After the address, the dancers are summoned to present their pipes to the woman or man who accepts them. Each dancer is then brought before the acceptors, a woman flanked by two holy men. The drums beat out their rhythm while each dancer parades around the circle, led by the Sun Dance chief or one of the holy men.

As each pipe is accepted, it is placed beyond the buffalo skull resting on the ground. The buffalo skull, will, its curved horns, is placed in front of a pipe rack for the sacred pipes. The rack is made of two forked sticks inserted into the ground with a connecting cross-stick. Almost all ceremonial pipes have a pointed end beyond the bowl because this design allows the pipe to be lodged in Mother Earth for support while it rests against the pipe rack. In this way the stem is left pointed at Wiyo, the sun mate of our Mother or, as in the Sun Dance, toward the spirit of the west.

A few pipes have an axe blade projecting downward below the pipe bowl. These are warriors' pipes. The bearer is a traditional, respecting warrior who is going off to war or has returned from war or is fighting for a cause.

After all the pipes have been presented, the dancers rest while the Sun Dance chief makes a stirring address on spiritual values. The dancers then go before the four directions to prepare themselves. While facing east, the dancer will consider knowledge, wisdom, peace and harmony or related values that are part of increasing experience or truth. Some dancers may consider communication, for it is the great messenger that can remove the ignorance, fear, and egocentricity that hold back enlightenment and wisdom.

The third day of the Sun Dance is little different from the second day except that the crowd and the ring of tents and campers grow larger. The manner in which the sun dancers enter the arena in the morning and in which they offer their pipes to the four directions is the same. Clockwise the four directions are beseeched, beginning with the east, Wiyohayapa, where the sun rises.

If it is not the piercing day the dancers will usually be led from the arena after facing the four directions and the pipe offering. Their pipes will be returned to them before they leave the arena. The ceremony is over within the morning hours, and the dancers are free to rest and fast in their tents while they wait for the following dawn.

In addition to being a religious ceremony the Sun Dance is also a social event. In the afternoon, some fancy dancing or powwow dancing will take place. in the evening, especially on the evening preceding the final Sun Dance day, many colorful powwow dancers in their traditional dance costumes will fill the Sun Dance arena. These dances are quite energetic and are danced to a much faster beat than the Sun Dance.

Because four has a special meaning in Sioux spirituality the fourth and final day of the Sun Dance brings the culmination of the ceremony—the piercing. Those who have pledged to be pierced now give of themselves. They will give something that money or position cannot buy so that the people, the way, may live.

Because Sioux religion recognizes woman as having already given of her pain for the people when she gives birth, the women in the Sun Dance do not pierce in this special portion of the ceremony Woman's pain is regarded as more than the pain of a sun dancer because childbirth may bring death to some women, and certainly the facing of death is considered the greatest challenge. It is said that a sun dancer has understood more fully a woman's pain by doing the Sun Dance.

On this final day after the four directions have been faced and the dancer has seriously contemplated the six powers of the universe, he is led to a bed of sage at the base of the cottonwood tree. The following is a recollection of my own moments of piercing.

You lie down on the bed of sage. Your tribe is looking on. When the holy man pierces you with his blade or sharp skewer, you don't want to quiver or move a muscle. The old warrior lineage is still in you. You are an Oglala, and you will show that you can take

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pain. You won't grimace or move.

It is painful for the holy man who is going to pierce you. His way of life is to help remove the "hurts" of life through his medicine way. This is a contrary experience for him to have to hurt someone. You know that when he sets his jaw, he will make the two parallel cuts on your chest, then thrust the awl into the first cut and out the second. (The skin of the chest is pierced, but not the muscle or connective tissue. Skin is extremely strong, and there is no need to pierce deeply.)

You hold up the hard wooden peg to show him. An experienced sun dancer will make sure that the peg is sanded smooth so that it slides in easily. It is sharp on only one end. You show the peg to let him know that you are ready You focus on the great cottonwood spreading its limbs out to the world. It does what the Great Spirit has all trees do. They take out the gases we emit and replace them with oxygen.

The cloth banners of the six powers flutter above. You know the six powers will flow their medicine strongly through you during the piercing time. Right now they are watching and they are listening for your thoughts. The cuts are made, and the pain begins when the awl is tunneled through. You are giving your pain so that the people may live. "Peg, chanwi," the holy man calls out. You give him the peg that you have been squeezing in the palm of your hand.

You look up at the tree of life. It is comforting.

You appreciate lying on the bed of sage, for you have been on your feet in the hot sun. You think of these things for distraction because you know that the inserting of the peg across the cut in your chest will be more painful than the pushing in of the awl. It feels like hot fire when the peg is inserted. Most men never face the pain of the Sun Dance piercing, and of those who do, most never come back for a second time.

An assistant hands the end of a coiled rope to the holy man who wraps a leather thong around the projecting ends of the peg once it is in place and ties the thong to the rope.

You rise somewhat shakily from the bed of sage, carefully holding the attached rope. You become aware that you are now attached to your mother, Mother Earth. The holy man and his assistant support you momentarily while the steadiness comes back into your legs. You hold the weight of the dangling rope in your hand, not yet letting it increase the pain searing across your chest.

The assistant places the sage wreath with its pair of spiked eagle feathers onto your head. With your free hand, you reach up and adjust the wreath. You recognize and appreciate more fully the symbolism of thee sage wreath as a badge of honor, with its eagle-wing feathers standing up like spiritual antennae.

The drums in the background are beating. Your tribe is looking on. You move carefully back to your position on the Sun Dance circle. Slowly you ease the weight of the rope onto the pain in your chest as you begin to dance, shuffling slowly to the beat of the drums, tethered to the Sun Dance tree.

In time, all the dancers will be pierced and all will take their positions. The ropes hanging down are their umbilicals to the Earth Mother. The bone whistles screech in unison. The drums pulse louder. It is time to dance inward to touch the tree of life, the great cottonwood tree. The dancers shuffle inward holding their ropes aside so as not to step on them. The drums throb, the whistles grow shrill as the dancers extend their palms to the tree. They lean against the trunk as they blow their whistles hard. The Sun Dance chief calls out and they back away slowly shuffling with the drumbeat to the end of their tethered connection. Four times you come in and touch the tree. At the last touching, the tree itself sounds as if it is shrilling back like a huge Sun Dance whistle.

The gathered tribe is deep in prayer at this powerful moment. The tribe's prayers are like a spiritual wind sweeping in over the backs of the sun dancers and hitting the tree. The tree itself is a great absorbing funnel, taking in the prayers and sending them upward to the ultimate powers of the universe and to Wankan Tanka.

After the fourth touching of the tree, the dancers lean back against the ropes. Now they are free to seek their own Sun Dance vision. All gathered that day are concentrating once again as a nation up to the Ultimate and out to the relationship of all that is upon the Mother. This is a profound power of the Sun Dance. After a while, the dancers lean back to break the umbilical with the Mother. Sometimes they have to lean very hard. The peg tears through the skin, and this part is not as painful as most people imagine. Sometimes the pegs will shoot across the arena when they come loose. Surprisingly for most pledgers, there is very little bleeding if the Intercessor is skillful when he pierces.

The piercing and the breaking free should not be focused upon, however, when the essence of the Sun Dance Ceremony is being fathomed. It is the gathered tribe, the band, the gathered Tiyospaye, acknowledging the spiritual and physical relationship to all that is the cante, the heart of the Sun Dance. When all the dancers have ended their connection to the tree of life, the Sun Dance chief gathers them into a line and they leave the circle. The Sun Dance is over.

I recall vividly the people standing in a long line to shake the hands of the sun dancers and the holy men. I remember the looks of satisfaction at us with great hope, saying with their eyes that it was strengthening to see us bringing back a powerful ceremony that had been stamped out, asking us not to give in to those who would stop its return.

Now our Sun Dance flourishes on many reservations. But there was a time when we had to fight to be able to bring it back. It is a good ceremony and it has a powerful significance. I am thankful it has returned.

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UNIT III – GOOD MEDICINE

READING 11

The Reservation

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So many things in life to me are good and holy and sacred, if you're planting corn, that's good, if you're hoeing your garden, that is good. If you're getting up the wood for winter; if you're helping somebody else; . . . all of those things are very good.

Everything's part of the circle of life; everything is part of the song of the Great Spirit. That's the way I see things; it's probably the biggest difference between Native philosophy and the non-Indian philosophy, where ideas and actions are put into little boxes, where some things, some days, are thought of as holy, while most other things are not.

That is not the Native way. In sharing with you the experiences of my life, I want you to understand why I do the things I do, and feel the way I feel. You need to realize that I see the holiness in everything, in the dramatic and the daily humdrum.

That's why all things give me power, and I can take that power and grow stronger in my medicine every day. The term medicine as I use it means many things. It is the power to heal with herbs, to heal using spirit forces, to work with the sweatlodge and other ceremonies, to make prayers for rain, to bless the crops, to share power and teachings with people, and much more. With the Creator's help, through my medicine I can tap into the life force and I can channel it or many kinds of healing. My medicine, like anyone's, is not all mine to keep. There is one good way to give away your power; when you've reached a strong point in your medicine you can give it to other people, by teaching them.

I don't speak about medicine in the name of all Native people; I won't do that, nor will I speak for a single tribe. I can only speak of the teachings that my vision has given me.

Everything of importance to a traditional Native person, every ritual and prayer, is the result of some person's vision; the teaching may be how to build a sweatlodge, and why to shape it like a turtle and face it to the east; how to do a pipe ceremony; the sacred sun dance; the peyote medicine. None of these sacred rituals were invented out of the imagination; they were sent to individuals, we believe, through sacred visions.

My visions and my work are for today, for the people who are here now, and that's why I don't stick to any particular old way ritual, but incorporate whatever my medicine calls for, from everywhere. It's not really a traditional view that I hold, and yet it is.

So, as we go along, I'll be sharing with you my vision of what to do today, and how to survive tomorrow, with or without technology.

I know how to live both ways myself.

I was born on the White Earth Reservation in northern Minnesota, on August 31, 1929. Two months later the stock market crashed. I always wondered whether my birth had anything to do with that, and with the depression that taught me and many others how to make do with a lot less than most people in the United States have today.

My father, Louis, was a Chippewa or Ojibway Indian with some French blood, and my mother, Judith, came from German/Norwegian stock. My mother was born in a sod hut near Gladstone, North Dakota, a sod shanty they called it, and she grew up surrounded by Native Americans – so I guess she was used to tall, dark, handsome men like my father. It wasn't as noteworthy as people think for Indians and non-Indians to get together back then. It happened a lot.

My Native grandmother worked a lot with herbs. When I was a boy she would sometimes take me with her to find medicine. That was the Native way of teaching, silently, by example. She used to lace up her moccasins with swamp grass, in the old way, and utilize as many natural things as she could. She would only talk to me in what she called "The People's languages," meaning Ojibwa or French. The French people had always mixed pretty well with the Natives. They did not try to totally change the way that we lived our lives like some later emigrants did.

My grandfather was an engagee, or voyageur, for the Hudson's Bay Company. He was one of those hardy guys who paddled enormous trade canoes through the wilderness, sometimes twenty men to a canoe, singing songs, stacking furs, and eating eight or nine pounds of meat a day. I had ten brothers and sisters in all, though only one, LaVonne, is my full sister. The part of the White Earth Reservation where we lived was checkerboarded with Indian and non-Indian families. The land had been allotted to Native Americans originally by the U.S. Government, but many Indians sold their land to whites, or traded it for cars or farm equipment. My dad, though, kept his parcel of land, and later added to it by buying surrounding plots. Eventually, we had eighty acres.

When I was seven, my mother read me a book called LOST IN FUR COUNTRY, and it really whetted my appetite for outdoor adventure. Throughout my youth of course, my uncles and brothers had been teaching me wilderness lore. What a treat it was in the winter, to go to the ice house and fish with my uncles. We could look right down through the hole in the ice and see fish.

We had a big garden and raised cows, sheep and chickens. I used to help with chores - chopping wood and hauling water from the time I was seven years old. I also ran a trap line which was twenty five miles long, and I caught weasels, muskrats, raccoons. My brother

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READING 11 continued . . .

Howard taught me how to run it. The first animal I caught was a weasel, and the pelt was shipped to Sears-Roebuck along with some others. Although that was a very exciting event then, I don't believe in trapping today. At that time, however, trapping was part of my family's survival, and I never wasted any part of any animal I trapped.

I had a .22 rifle in my hands about the time I was nine, and provided much food for the family. I was taught early that the rifle was a valuable tool, never a toy. I hunted a lot of grey squirrel, and ruffed grouse. I also hunted with a slingshot, and got many rabbits that way.

My dad worked with some wood cutters and trucked wood to sell in surrounding cities. He used to drive eighty miles to take wood to Armour and Company, a big meat-packing plant in Grand Forks. Sometimes he traded wood for honey, sometimes for apples or cabbages.

The thing I loved most at White Earth was the land. The gently rolling hillsides were very green in summer, and snow-covered in winter. I loved to sit under the trees, to watch the snow come swirling out of the clouds. The fall was beautiful with all the red oak trees, and when we walked through the woods, kicking up the leaves, we'd see the grey squirrels scurry up into the branches.

To me, that is true wealth...sitting on the Earth Mother...seeing, smelling, tasting the freshness of it all.

It was at that early age when I first realized what nature is all about. I realized that the Earth Mother is a living organism...always changing, always growing. Some part of me knew then that someday, like the Earth Mother, I would have good medicine and that my medicine, too, would not be static.

Later in the Depression, we moved around quite a bit while my Dad looked for other work. We went off the Reservation, to Idaho and then to Clarkson, Washington. There were months of dirt and drought. I remember how good a rainshower felt. I liked all of the travelling. It was exciting to see new places and meet new people, both Indian and white.

In 1937, we returned to Minnesota. The trip back across the country was a sadly memorable one; livestock were dying and wells were drying up everywhere. Later in life, when I would hear the word "savages" I would always think of the wheat savages: those farmers who raped the land and turned it into swirling dust.

I started my schooling then at the Duke School (named after my father). With the neighbor kids I'd get out under a tree, either before or after classes, and we'd share our lunches under the branches, watch the snow fall during the winter, and just enjoy the good feeling that we had being there.

Two of my uncles at White Earth were prominent medicine men. One was Bo Doge, which is Chippewa for Like the Wind. Uncle Bo Doge gave me the name Gheezis Mokwa (Sun Bear), but I didn't use it until I was grown up. His knowledge was of herbs, and he was a very good healer with them. I think I had a basic knowledge of what he was doing, even as a young boy, and I was fascinated by his medicine. Eventually, he taught me a few things; among others, I learned some of the songs and chants he used.

My other uncle, my dad's half-brother, was a very powerful medicine man named Bill Burnett. People had great respect for him; they knew he had the power to do many things with his medicine. He wasn't so much a healer as he was a shaman who could materialize objects and make things happen.

When Uncle Bill and other medicine men on the Reservation would go into their lodges and start singing, the lodges would start to vibrate and shake. That is a very ancient thing with the Ojibway – the tent shaking – and some of the earliest explorers and missionaries were amazed by it. They'd even tie up the shaman before he went into a tent, so he couldn't do anything to shake the tent poles (they were too massive to be moved by a single man anyway), and still, when the medicine man began to sing, the tents would vibrate and shake like they were sitting in tie middle of an earthquake.

Uncle Bill could also tell you where to find game if you were hunting. He would never hunt himself, but he'd say to one of his sons: "Well, you go half-a-mile southwest and there's a buck sunning itself behind a brush pile. You go and get him; he's for us today!" Sure enough, the buck would be there.

What Uncle Bill would do would be to make prayers, and his would tell him where the game was.

There was a man who came out to Cass Lake Reservation one time, when they were doing ceremonies there. The man was non-Indian, and he started badmouthing what was going on. He was drunk and said "This is a bunch of humbug!"

The medicine men gave him the eye. They pointed their medicine bundles at him – that's called "shooting them with them" – and he fell down, completely paralyzed.

He was taken to Rochester and other places, to try to get him healed, but nobody could help him. Finally, the doctors gave up on him, so his people brought him back to the Midewiwin men. He apologized; they took the medicine off, and he was healed.

There are a number of ways we come into our medicine: through visions, through training with another medicine person, or through a combination of those two. I work with whatever kinds of medicine are shared with me, although I mainly follow my own vision. I've learned the medicine of the sweatlodge; I've been with the peyote people, and they've taught me and given me the right to practice their medicine.

There are a few of us around now who don't just follow the visions of 1880. This is the latter part of the twentieth century, and one of the big differences between the Native religions and others is that we know that the Creator is always alive, and gives visions today that are just as great valid as those given long ago.

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UNIT IV – INDIAN COUNTRY

READING 12

Indian Tribes, Incorporated

Newsweek, December 5, 1988

As long as Father Sun has tracked the Western sky, the Swinomish Indians of Washington State have earned their living as fishermen. They trawl the waters of Puget Sound, catching salmon for distribution to wholesalers across the country. These days, however, the Swinomish are combining fishing with high finance. The tribe has announced plans for a 30-acre boat basin, an 800-slip marina and a three-story office and commercial headquarters on the banks of nearby Padilla Bay. The development – which will include a restaurant, space for marine businesses and a $15 million hotel – is expected to create 400 jobs and generate $2 million in annual income. A sign inside the tribal headquarters heralds the economic renaissance. Bring credit cards, it advises visitors. "We no longer accept Beaver pelts."

Their best-known deal may have been selling Manhattan Island for about $24 worth of trinkets – but today many American Indians have become infinitely more astute at dealmaking. Entrepreneurial tribes are still in the minority, but a number have entered the business arena with the force of a battle for a sacred burial ground. The Navajo Nation makes electronic missile assemblies for General Dynamics and grows shiitake mushrooms for export to the Far East. The Choctaws of Mississippi build wire harnesses for Ford Motor Co., and the Seminoles of Florida own a 156-room hotel.

Such an aggressive approach to business was once unheard of on Indian reservations. Plagued by high unemployment, rampant alcoholism and poor housing conditions, tribes have relied on shrinking federal handouts to eke out a living. Even now only about 40 of the 310 federally recognized tribes have economic-development programs, according to the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs. Still, the up-by-the-bootstraps efforts of a few are spurring others into action. Some of the biggest success stories have come from tribes – most notably the Choctaws and the Cherokees – that have few natural resources. "What's our secret?" asks Cherokee chief Wilma Mankiller. "Our secret is that we never, never give up."

Their determination to compete has thrust many tribal chiefs into the role of economic-development coordinators. Navajo chairman Peter MacDonald (he adopted the surname in elementary school) has established the Commission for Accelerating Navajo Development Opportunities (CAN DO), as well as regional business-development boards. Cherokee leader Mankiller (the name derives from an ancient military title) has paved the way for the construction of a $100 million hydroelectric plant on Cherokee land and traveled to Taiwan to meet with would-be investors. Choctaw head Phillip Martin has helped start up five auto-related electronics factories and a greeting-card operation, making the tribe one of the top 20 employers in the state. Passamaquoddy governor Bobby Newell, whose office is adorned with pictures of Indian chiefs in feather headdresses, says such activities would be a source of amazement to even his recent predecessors, who functioned largely as figureheads. "Today," he says, "[being a tribal governor] is like running a giant corporation."

Sore points: How much have the new business ventures actually improved the day-to-day lives of tribe members? Not enough, some critics charge. The unemployment rate still remains well over 35 percent in some tribes, and more and more young people are forced to leave home to find jobs. Poverty remains a pervasive problem. Even tribes that have invested heavily in economic-development activities may have to wait years before the trickle-down effect kicks in. Traditionalists worry that rapid economic development will threaten the cultural identity of the American Indian.

The issue of which takes priority – profit making or job creation – is another sore point. Many top-level positions in Indian businesses are now held by outsiders rather than Native Americans. Ironically, most tribal leaders argue that the practice of hiring from outside has been a key to their success. Chief Mankiller takes particular delight in relating how the Cherokees once sought out a cowboy to run a 60-head cattle ranch that had been donated to the tribe. "Why should Indians deal in the world blindfolded?" argues one non-Indian adviser. "They should be entitled to use experts and banks like everyone else."

The real rewards of Indian economic development may not be known for years. Congress has repeatedly debated legislation to create reservation enterprise zones to offer tax breaks, and an Indian Development Bank to guarantee loans. More and more, tribal members are opening small businesses and launching entrepreneurial ventures. Meanwhile, younger members are entering college in record numbers. Indian leaders hope a new generation of tribal businesses will one day draw them back home.

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UNIT IV – INDIAN COUNTRY

READING 13

Alaska Natives Sadly Ponder Whether to Spend Their Land

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Nineteen years after Congress set aside almost a billion dollars and 44 million acres to make Alaskan native groups economically self-sufficient, some of the groups have built thriving financial empires.

But others, in some cases broke from investing in questionable schemes in the lower 48 states, are desperate. And now they propose to develop their land, posing what critics say are some of the biggest threats to the environment in Alaska.

One group has joined with the Chevron Oil Company to drill the first major exploratory well in the delicate Arctic wildlife area. Another plans to begin logging the virgin forests bordering Prince William Sound this year. A third is planning to build an airstrip into the heart of the world's largest brown bear refuge here on this windswept island in the Gulf of Alaska.

Against Their Judgement

Even some native leaders say they are pursuing the plans against their own best judgment as stewards of the land. In a twist, in an effort to avoid selling to developers they have approached environmental groups and the Federal Government and even private companies to see if they can find someone to buy up their land.

"Some of the natives are in a position now where the only way they can make money is to destroy the land," said Tim Mahoney, an environmentalist who has been negotiating a possible settlement to end logging near the Kodiak bear refuge on Afognak Island. "It's a strange way to succeed, because corporation values are usually antithetical to their traditional values."

Ralph Eluska is president of Akhiok-Kaguyak Inc., a native corporation that owns 138,000 acres on Kodiak Island. "We're broke," he said. "Congress made us into a corporation, and then said, 'Go out and make the bottom line.' So, our shareholders keep asking me, 'What have you done for me lately?' "

What Mr. Eluska is trying to do for his 147 shareholders, most of whom subsist by catching salmon and hunting bear, is to get the Federal Government to buy back much of the land they received in 1971, when Congress passed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

The Bears Are Crowded

Federal biologists say the natives' land here is the best bear habitat within the 1.8 million acre Kodiak National Wildlife Refuge, home of the giant cousin of the grizzly, the Kodiak bear.

Although Kodiak bears, the largest land carnivores on earth, may weigh up to 1,500 pounds and grow as tall as 14 feet, they shy from people. There are nearly two bears for every square mile of this island refuge, and biologists say the presence of humans crowds them into territorial fights. And as visitors and bears increasingly cross paths, more of the animals are shot to death. Officials say development, in the form of logging, airstrips for foreign hunters, and vacation lodges, could spell the end of the refuge, which was set aside in 1941 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"The natives are in a Catch-22 situation," said Jay Bellinger, manager of the Kodiak refuge. "They have to make money. But the only way they can make money here is to develop the very land the bears depend on. And you can't have both humans and brown bears in the same place. The bear will always lose."

Mr. Eluska said: "We'd rather not reduce their tax bills. The tax law was changed, after the Treasury lost more than $300 million from companies' sales of their operating losses, according to Federal officials.

The State of Alaska is currently negotiating a $20 million purchase of land that a native village corporation had planned to log in a state park on the Kenai Peninsula west of Anchorage.

And around Prince William Sound, which is still recovering from the spill of nearly 11 million gallons of oil from the Exxon Valdez in March 1989, the Chugach Alaska Corporation is planning to begin cutting forests in an area where there has never been logging.

The logging would be "a threat to some of the finest scenic and wildlife areas in Alaska," said Jack Hession, Alaska representative for the Sierra Club.

In an effort to prevent the logging, some environmental groups asked Exxon to buy the land and keep it in a wild state, but the company has rejected the proposal.

The timberlands manager of Chugach Alaska, Paul Tweiten, said logging would proceed in an environmentally sound manner. Destructive logging that would hurt fishing or tourism would be against the natives' self-interest, he said.

Still, many of the new ventures cause inner turmoil among shareholders. "I've always had a personal conflict when we talked about whether our land should be preserved for future generations or should we punch a hole in the ground to help those here now," said Mike Irwin, who is an adviser for native affairs to Gov. Steve Cowper.

Mr. Irwin and other native leaders say environmentalists are applying a double standard.

"Just because it's a native company we are supposed to act differently," Mr. Eluska said. "What's driving

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READING 13 continued . . .

these decisions is the American dream. We want the same lifestyle as other Americans. We want to be able to have our TV's, to have our two weeks of vacation, to have an education. We want to obey the same rules."

The Spill Changed Things

Mr. Eluska's corporation here, and several other native groups, were prepared to give up their land within the wildlife refuge, more than 300,000 acres, in exchange for a share of revenue if oil development was allowed in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge on North Slope.

But after the Exxon od spill, the plan to open the Arctic refuge, a vast home to caribou herds, became politically untenable in Congress and was put on hold.

Now, the native corporations are trying to sell their land on Kodiak. A bill under which the United States would buy a small piece, worth about $2 million, is before Congress, and other parcels may be sold to groups like the Nature Conservancy, which buys land for wildlife.

'No' to Reservations

The native corporate structure was set up in 1971 as the centerpiece of the largest settlement ever between the Federal Government and aboriginal people. Congress was under pressure to settle with the natives so Alaska could be opened up to oil development, but in settling with the natives it rejected the idea of Indian reservations as a failed social policy.

The natives were instead given $967 million in cash and 44 million acres of land, for which they ended their ancestral claims to Alaska. To manage the windfall, more than 200 village corporations and 13 regional corporations were set up, with each native holding a certain number of shares in a particular corporation. Much of the native land was within wildlife refuges or areas that in 1980 became national parks.

Some, notably the Cook Inlet Region, Sealaska and Arctic Slope, have done extremely well and are among the richest companies in the Western United States: They developed timber and fishing industries and invested in broadcast stations and real estate in the Lower 48. Cook Inlet, with three television stations and 11 radio outlets, is the largest minority-owned broadcasting company in the nation.

But other native companies have foundered, losing money in bad investments or from the drop in energy prices in the 1980s.

When Losses Are Lucrative

What saved many native corporations from bankruptcy was a provision in the Federal tax law that allowed any company to sell its net operating losses to profitable companies. The Walt Disney Company, the Marriott Corporation and the Pillsbury Company, among others, bought the native corporations' losses at a discount.

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UNIT IV – INDIAN COUNTRY

READING 14

Back to the Reservation: Indians leave the cities

Newsweek, May 2, 1988

Charlotte Standing Buffalo left Pine Ridge Indian Reservation 34 years ago, searching for a better life than could be scratched out in the stark plains of southwestern South Dakota. In California, she found it: a job at Hughes Aircraft, a happy marriage and a house in Long Beach. Over the years, the full-blooded Sioux settled into a suburban Los Angeles life of freeways, pizza and TV. But when it came time to retire, Charlotte and her husband, John Ortiz, decided to move back to Pine Ridge. "I always knew I wanted to come back," says Charlotte, 70. The Ortizes sold their California home and built a new one on 80 acres inherited from Charlotte's mother, Emma Feather Man.

Ortiz is among a growing number of American Indians returning to their ancestral lands after living for years in large cities. Most had moved away under an Eisenhower-era federal relocation program designed to reduce government subsidies to the reservations. Now that elderly urban Indians are facing life on pension checks and social security, many are heading back home where much of their food, hospitalization and housing costs are taken care of by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "Instead of paying a mortgage of $600 a month in Los Angeles, many Indians can live in subsidized housing that costs $75 a month," explains Joan Weibel-Orlando, an anthropologist at the University of Southern California.

To outsiders, the reservations hardly seem attractive. The problems that drove many of the Indians away three decades ago persist: at Pine Ridge, one of the country's largest (5,000 square miles and a population of 18,000), unemployment hovers near 85 percent, alcoholism is epidemic and the rates for suicide and infant mortality are the three to four times the national average. For urbanites accustomed to city conveniences, readjusting to rural live can be difficult. "I have to drive 30 miles to get a gallon of milk," says Duane Hughes, a Shawnee who recently returned to his tribe in Oklahoma. Despite the apparent drawbacks, Weibel-Orlando estimates that half of the Indians in the Los Angeles area will eventually return to reservations.

For many, family ties and ethnic pride are stronger lures than the financial incentives. Juanita White Eyes Connors, 62, returned to Pine Ridge after living for 39 years in Chicago and Los Angeles. On a hill overlooking Connors's land in Yellow Bear Canyon stands a sacred tree where Lakota Indians used to ceremoniously hang ribbons and tobacco. Now Connors feels it's her turn to pass on the traditional ways – something that was impossible in California. "In Los Angeles, the kids teased my grandchildren because of their last name [Jumping Eagle]," recalls Connors. "I wanted them to know their own people and never be ashamed of their name."

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